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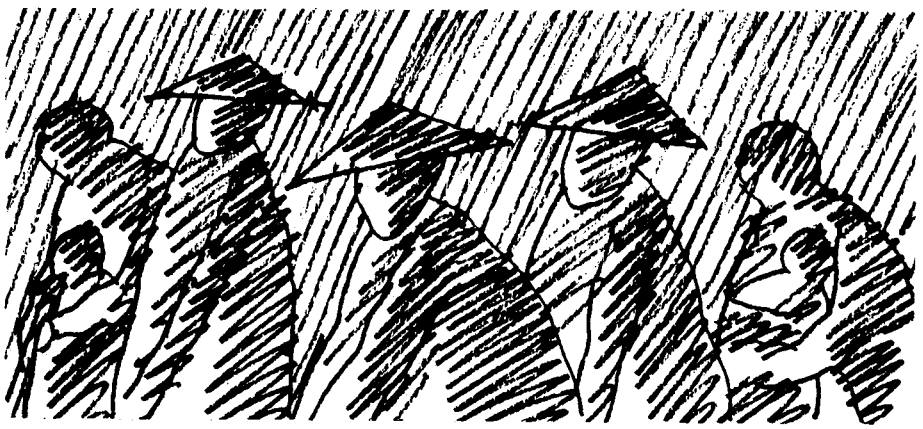

VIETNAM

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NEWS AND VIEWS

The most productive Congress within living memory is about to fade from the scene. The freshman Democrats in the House, who are about to be decimated at the polls, made a crucial difference. Of six most important legislative accomplishments—Medicare, 1965 foreign aid, the Housing department, rent subsidies, anti-poverty, repeal of 14b and 1966 foreign aid, only the anti-poverty bill (perhaps) would have passed without their help. On these issues, the freshman Democrats cast a total of 303 votes, 278 of them in favor of passage. Barry Goldwater produced this Congress. Do not speak ill of him.

•

"Clerical dress has not always been worn. In his book *Power and Poverty in the Church,* Yves Congar tells how Pope Celestine I upbraided Honoratus, abbot of Lerins, who had been appointed Bishop of Arles, for introducing a special dress, namely the tunic and belt. This was the monastic habit and an innovation. Hitherto the priest's dress was exactly the same as other men. Even in the celebration of the liturgy they merely wore clean clothes. Celestine wrote to the bishops of the Narbonne province: 'We should be distinguished from others not by our dress, but by our knowledge; by our conversation, not by our manner of life.' It might be thought that undue stress is being laid on this subject of clerical dress, but it can and does bring about a subtle change in the relationships between priests and people. Also, now that the Council has voted in favor of a change of dress among religious in particular, the subject is not entirely out of place."—Dom Christopher Delaney, in the English newsletter, *Search*

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The poll by Congressman Mosher (R., Ohio), featured prominently on Page One of the New York *Times,* showed that 54 percent of responding constituents believed the U.S. shouldn't have gotten so deeply involved in Vietnam, and three-quarters of them said the Vietcong would have to be included in any negotiations. But it depends on where the poll is taken. Congressman John Rhodes (R., Ariz.) polled 100,000 of his constituents in Goldwater country. Of the first 10,000 respondents, 41.8 percent favor "continuing present Administration policy" in Vietnam, while 93.1 percent favor escalation of the war by bombing industrial centers and harbors in the North.

•

The J. Edgar Hoover trophy for federal hyperbole goes this week to Harry Anslinger, chairman and U.S. representative of the United Nations' Committee on Narcotic Drugs, for the following performance:

"The abuse of drugs on campus once was unheard of, then spurred by teachings of ultra-liberal professors, it spread like wildfire. . . . Drugs have killed more persons than the hydrogen bomb ever will. . . . The user (of hallucinogenic drugs) winds up in an asylum, in prison, or the grave. Permanent damage to the mind comes with only one dose."

•

The Washington *Post* reports (Sept. 13) that growing numbers of Negro children are enrolling in Washington nonpublic schools, particularly parochial schools. Enrollment of Negro children in private schools has tripled since 1955, but public-school enrollment of Negroes has only doubled. We have become accustomed to thinking of white parents turning their backs on largely-Negro public schools. But we have to revise our thinking, says Education Board member John A. Sessions, because both white *and* Negro parents are turning their backs on the deteriorating public schools as soon as they are able to do so.

B. L. Bristo, the statistician of the District school system, says a "fair and correct interpretation" of the figures would indicate that while white parents are able to move to the suburbs and enroll their children in public schools, Negroes dissatisfied with the Washington public schools must turn to private education because of suburban housing discrimination. Most of the ex-public-school Negroes are turning up in parochial schools because, as the *Post* puts it, the other private schools of the District "tend to have more selective admissions policies" as well as higher tuition.

•

Father John B. Terbovic in *The Faces of Love* (Doubleday):

"It is very possible that God could have willed that babies be born through the medium of vending machines. Drop in a few coins and out comes the baby, tailor-made. . . . Sex is a normal part of life because the very bodies of a man and woman are so constructed. All the mechanics are there. Every normal woman is created as a baby factory . . ."

•

The New York *Daily News,* the largest and most dispensable newspaper in the country, sees Red more often than most of us. (President Kennedy, though repeatedly chided for "softness on Communism," was assassinated by "the little Commie rat," Lee Harvey Oswald.) The paper loves Communist exposure stories, real or imaginary, just as much as it loves real or imaginary welfare scandals.

In one recent "exposure," a throbbing, first-person account of a reporter who descended upon a pathetic little Communist camp meeting in upstate New York, the *News* managed to weave in the name of OEO (Poverty program), thus making it look as though anti-poverty money paid for the Communist meeting. ("U.S. Funds Aided That Camp," was one *News* headline.) Not so. The government paid for visits to the camp by Police Athletic League youngsters. The Communists merely rented the place afterwards. Congressman Resnick, (D., N.Y.) thinks that the Communists and the *News* were tacit allies in separate attempts to smear the Poverty program. On the floor of the House, he referred neatly to the *News* as the paper with "the largest circulation and the fewest ethics" of any paper in America.

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Experiential Arguments"

Reading, Pa.

To the Editors: Like Daniel Callahan ("Religious Slum-Dwellers," August 19), I felt the *Continuum* editorial on "transcendental experience" as the core of a Christian life to be much too rounded for the complex experiential realities that may be involved. I would like to mention two sorts of experiences that fall somewhere in the category of experiential arguments for a belief in God, although neither is the apparently more direct "experience of being" the infinity theologians speak of. The first of these might simply be called the experience of mystery or wonder.

This could arise as we ponder the truth of a double nature to life—that good cannot exist without evil, or evil without good; more concretely, it might occur upon our witnessing some instance in life where a unique beauty emerges from suffering. The second, probably closer to what the infinity theologians have in mind, is the experience of a desire for completeness (to quote Plato on this, the desire which "for ever through all the universe tends towards that which is lovely"). For example, the qualities of evanescence and isolation (temporality and finitude) may attend and qualify an experience of happiness. These qualities of incompleteness argue for a state of permanent and fully shared being, a perfect happiness. Either of these experiences, if valid, might help move us closer to a middle-class spiritual neighborhood.

I would also like to note that the "Christian reality" Mr. Callahan finds for himself—"an experience of the realities and possibilities of human community"—seems very close to the basis for belief in the ideals that John Dewey advances in *A Common Faith*. Dewey sees the imagination as seizing upon natural goods or values experienced in everyday living and idealizing existence, projecting possibilities and ideal ends open to man. The question, then, and it is the question Dewey would ask, is why say *Christian* reality? With a natural basis for the ideals, "God"

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ON AND ON IT GOES

The war in Vietnam may well go down in history as one of the most unpopular of all recent wars. The American people clearly have no special love for it, nor do the Russians. As Ronald Steel indicates in his article (p. 629) there is a mixture of distrust and uninterest in Europe toward American foreign policy. With the exception of Douglas Woodruff, none of the foreign Catholics whose views we solicited (p. 631) has much to say in favor of the war; most are strongly opposed. As for President Johnson, it is hard to see how he could have pleasant thoughts about the war. Quite apart from the American casualties, the war has done him little good politically, and he must know it. Should the present steady escalation continue the stage might be nicely set for a Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1968 to repeat General Eisenhower's gambit of 1952: a dramatic pledge to bring the war to a quick end. President Johnson is not likely to forget that possibility.

Yet the war goes on, and on. In fact, it is beginning to take on the look of a permanent feature of international politics—permanent in the sense that no foreseeable end of the war is in sight, no signs of a conciliatory move on either side are especially visible and no brilliant plans for a viable escape seem to have captured, or even intrigued, either camp. By all reports, both the American and the North Vietnamese military establishments are planning for a long war; and the Vietcong, less and less talked about at all, presumably have no plans for quitting. On top of this, some tacit lines seem to have been drawn. The United States appears unwilling to take some of the more radical military steps proposed by impatient warriors: the direct bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the mining of the harbor at Haiphong, a naval blockade or an invasion of North Vietnam.

No doubt there are many still pressing such lines of escalation, but for the time being they are not being heeded. For their part, the Chinese still appear hesitant to become directly involved by providing their own troops and planes, and the Russians are more reluctant still. Barring some unexpected initiative, then, both the facts of the war to date and the apparent intentions

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of the engaged nations all spell stalemate. While it is no doubt likely that the present American military effort is taking its toll on the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, they could still manage to keep up the pressure for years, waxing and waning as the occasion and their strength allow. If the North Vietnamese hope that the American people will eventually tire of the war is at the moment unfounded, it is a shrewd hope, quite enough to encourage them to patience.

If all of this spells stalemate, it almost spells hopelessness as well. The trouble is that with the war now solidly established, the pressures for peace have lost some of their compulsion. One such compulsion was the general fear of World War III, with all of its attendant nuclear horror. That War is still a possibility, but the limitations placed on the Vietnamese war by the nuclear powers have done much to cool such fears. Similarly, once people get used to war they tend to lose some of their initial sense of shock and revulsion. Casualty figures—combat photos—hero stories: all of these come to be accepted as routine matters, just another part of ordinary life.

It is hard not to share U Thant's sense of pessimism and fatigue. His annual report on the work of the United Nations exuded an air of dull depression when speaking of the war. "I have been increasingly distressed," he said, "to observe that discussions of the matter have by and large been dominated by considerations and analysis of the power politics involved, and that there has been much less concern for the tremendous human suffering which the conflict has entailed for the people of Vietnam . . ."

So far as the United States is concerned, he could hardly be more to the point. Amid all the varied arguments offered by the Administration for pursuing the war, none is more persistent than the need for the United States to "honor its pledge" to defend South Vietnam. The main worry, in short, is as much a worry about the American "image" as about the substantive issues. This is a theme more than gladly amplified in much of the public press: the United States cannot afford to back down lest its status as a world power be diminished.

Pope Paul is clearly aware of these oppressive realities. In calling upon Catholics for a month of prayer, and in setting October 4 as a day of special observances, he is obviously going to unusual lengths to indicate his concern. Whether that concern will be shared by the great mass of American Catholics is uncertain. As we have pointed out before, very few of the American bishops have spoken out publicly on the war at all; and all of them have implicitly or explicitly supported Administration policy. In this, however, they only reflect the general Catholic mood—a passive, basically uncritical support of the present foreign policy. The existence of a few Catholic demonstrators and protesters only highlights the general lack of consistent American Catholic opposition to the war.

Where will this opposition come from? It is becoming harder and harder to answer that question. U Thant and Pope Paul are trying to bring peace. They are not enough.

NEGRO STRATEGY

"Congress without the President isn't worth a damn," is a reminder President Johnson has passed on, from time to time, to various spokesmen for Congressional independence. Whatever the general value of the dictum, it was true, at least, during the recent civil rights battle in Congress. The closure attempt failed, not so much because of Senator Dirksen's opposition, but because the President managed to signal his lack of fervor for passage. Closure could have been achieved if the President had been willing to battle for it.

The President, of course, is pre-occupied with Vietnam. A number of those who are similarly pre-occupied are not known for their devotion to civil rights, and their support for Johnson's Vietnam policy would have been jeopardized by the application of Presidential muscle for the new civil rights bill. Then too, the President is aware of the nation's unrest over continuing demonstrations and "black power." While it may not add up to a backlash, there is evidence that white voters are beginning to have some doubts, particularly as the focus of proposed legislation moves north. This time, the nation has not been mobilized by a single dramatic injustice, or the death of a (white) civil-rights worker. Judged in purely political terms, the President's decision to support the bill without fighting for it is probably attuned to the reigning white sentiments. So, apparently, is the general strategy of the Johnson Administration. "Go Slow" is the policy. Attorney General Katzenbach, initially viewed with suspicion by most whites in the South, has turned out to be much more acceptable there than most analysts anticipated. In general, the federal government's efforts to get out the vote in the South this fall have been mild.

The government's reluctance to pursue an activist role, combined with the wavering of many whites, frames the debate within the Negro community. With "black power" as the encompassing (and sometimes embarrassing) slogan, many Negro leaders think that the time has come for the Negro to stop relying so heavily on the good will of whites and government. The discussions about nonviolence as a tactic and anti-white emotions may consume the attention of most analysts. But the root question involves the untapped political power of Negroes: 75 percent of them now live in large urban centers. Shouldn't they stop marching and go political? The marches have run afoul of the law of diminishing returns anyway. And the summer riots, born of frustration, seem to have made whites more—not less—reluctant to join the struggle. If the ally turns fickle at the time his assistance is most needed, why expend so much effort in

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holding together the white-Negro coalition?

It is not a matter, of course, of going it totally alone. If "Black Power" means antipathy to all whites and giving full reign to the separatist instinct, it is doomed to fail. But in the end, Negroes must give primacy either to the appeal to white consciences or to the strength of bloc politics, either to petitioning the power structure or to confronting it with another power structure. In the past, as the young Negro leaders have been quick to point out, some attempts to achieve Negro political power have been made, but always within the context of white expectations. These expectations have customarily meant crippling conditions, more or less set forth by white liberals as the price of their support in the coalition. It was to be expected, then, that such "coalition" men as Roy Wilkins, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, and to an extent, Martin Luther King, should view the shift in thought and strategy with alarm.

But as a number of analysts have pointed out, Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick did not invent bloc politics in America. They are merely calling into question the many opportunities that are being missed by relying on the rules of the game as set down by whites for the proper functioning of the coalition. What has shocked whites is the fact that the rules should be called into question. But the "rules," as Carmichael points out, amount to a tactic that can and should be abandoned when it is no longer productive. The problem then (or rather, now) will be to soothe the ruffled feathers of white liberals while switching to a set of rules all whites take for granted in other areas of political concern. But the primary aim of Negroes cannot be the prevention of hurt feelings in white liberals. It must be, rather obviously, the vigorous promotion of justice for the nation's most aggrieved minority. In view of the Administration's muted enthusiasm, and the current mood of white voters, we should expect, and support, some form of the allegedly dread term, "black power."

BRAZIL'S FUTURE

On September 3, having carefully removed matters from all popular influence, Brazil's military regime duly "elected" half the regional governors. There were no opposing candidates. There will be none for the October "election" of General Costa e Silva as Brazil's chief of state. The opposition has refused to participate in what it justly terms "electoral farces."

In the face of a regime which more and more adds political isolation to its economic failure, the Brazilian opposition is growing rapidly. The result, naturally enough, is a grab bag. General Kruel, a crucial supporter of the 1964 military coup, resigned his post at the beginning of August in protest of the government's dictatorial measures. He was soon joined in this act by another important military man, General Taurino de Rezende. More recently the former governor of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda—right-wing, nationalist, and politically-gifted—issued an anti-government manifesto which was virtually revolutionary in its rhetoric. It was clearly an attempt to seize the leadership of a rapidly growing opposition movement.

These may only be fugitives from a sinking ship. Far more serious—as the government has realized—is the challenge presented by Archbishop Helder Camara of Recife. With the other bishops of the impoverished Northeast, Helder Camara welcomed a statement by Catholic Actionists denouncing the region's agricultural feudalism and official persecution of those who struggled for change. For his pains the Bishop was condemned by a military leader for "playing the game of international Communism." This slander in turn brought forth widespread Catholic protest—and ultimately an official apology.

Apologies, however, do not change the facts of life in the Northeast. Annual income is less than $100 per year. Life expectancy for half the population is 30 years. At Recife itself, the infantile mortality rate is 285 per 1000.

Whatever opportunities the military regime once had to alter these facts have been lost. Its neo-capitalist, technocratic aspect, exemplified by the economics minister Roberto Campos, ran aground on the shoals of Brazil's feudalistic interests. The result has been austerity measures against workers without corresponding land reform, lucrative openings for American capital without a corresponding will for national control and development. Opposed by nationalist businessmen as well as popular leaders, Campos is on the way out. With him goes whatever might have been novel about the 1964 "revolution."

There is no gentle future for Brazil. There is little chance for the non-violent, gradual, democratic evolution envisaged for Latin America by men like Robert Kennedy. Continuing misery accompanied by harsh repression of the inevitable protests, or a revolution which, even if begun by moderates, will have to move sharply to the left: these are the likely alternatives.

Where will the U.S. stand? It cannot avoid choosing. Today Brazil is preceded only by South Vietnam and India as a recipient of American aid. Rio is a firm ally in such doubtful ventures as the Dominican intervention and the "reform" of the OAS. Is the U.S. ready to deny support to a repressive, reactionary Brazil? Does it have contact with the genuine opposition groups, many of them underground? Is it prepared to handle pressures from American business interests threatened by Brazilian turmoil? Will it refuse to seize upon revolutionary violence or the presence of Communists as a basis for military or economic intervention? If Washington could answer "yes," there would be less substance to the prediction supposedly made by a Green Beret in Vietnam: "Brazil will be America's Algeria."

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

"WEARINESS AND DOUBTS"

Pope Paul recently hailed what he described as "new outbursts of religious fervor" in the post-Vatican II period. At the same time he noted with sorrow the rise of doubts about the faith among some Catholics in the wake of the Council. On both points the Pope is, I think, absolutely right.

Life around here is busy, but I do get out of the office for flying trips to various parts of the country fairly often, usually for the purpose of giving talks. In the latter part of the last academic year, for example, I spoke in such separated places as Spokane, Washington (Gonzaga University), Tulsa, Oklahoma (the University of Tulsa), Cincinnati, Ohio (Xavier University), and St. Paul, Minnesota (the College of St. Thomas). In the course of such travel I listen as well as speak and thus I pick up some idea of just what people are thinking in various parts of the country. Admittedly, this is not like running a scientific poll; nevertheless, I think it does give some clues as to what is going on.

It is on the basis of such travel and such conversations with people in various parts of the country that I agree with the Pope. There is no doubt at all that considerable anxiety exists at this point among American Catholics in general; if anxiety seems too strong a word, perhaps "uncertainty" would be more accurate. Some Catholics were delighted by the Council; others have simply become unsure—unsure of the Church and of themselves in relation to the Church.

There is, of course, nothing surprising about this fact. It was inevitable that the changes in the Church in recent years would unsettle many people. Pope John's fresh air was heady stuff, and too potent for many to get used to all at once. The very fact that an Ecumenical Council was called, the changes in the liturgy, the shift in attitude toward Protestants, the rumors of a possible new position on birth control, even the changes in the rules for the Lenten fast and abstinence—all these things have shaken up many Catholics severely. Here I include priests as well as laymen, and a certain number of bishops, I suspect.

This process of awakening and change almost had to bring such doubts about the faith as Pope Paul described. You can't begin to invite questions without queries being raised about the most fundamental articles of faith. This would be true at best; it is doubly and triply so in an age when Catholics were raised to think that the Church unchanging meant that not one jot or tittle could ever be altered. It is a truism since the Council to say that the Church should be a liberating force; it is not and should not be a monolith. Yet in fact part of our problem today is that too many people want the Church to be exactly that. Now that they have found this vision to be a faulty one, they are disturbed and bothered.

That is one part of the problem, and I don't see that much can be done about it. Uncertainty and doubt along the way are often part of the price for a mature faith. But there is another difficulty, about which something could and should be done. That something would be a widespread and top-to-bottom effort to make the spirit of the Council take shape in every diocese and every parish in the country. Some dioceses and some parishes are working hard at this. But who would deny that many are dragging their feet, with little going on that is particularly different from pre-Conciliar days?

"All the Church is in ferment," Pope Paul said, and as evidence he cited the following: the promotion of study of the Conciliar decrees; the growing success of the liturgical reforms; efforts to create new structures in the spirit of the Council; the work of religious communities to update their constitutions; the response of laymen to the Council; a new consciousness of the role in the world by the entire People of God. But if there are also areas in the Church where doubt and cynicism are creeping in—and I think there are—may this not be due at least in part to the slowness with which the Council decrees are being given flesh-and-blood reality?

The Council, let it be remembered, raised high hopes. If doubt and anxiety are now developing, part of the problem comes from the rising revolution of expectations in the Church. There is no doubt about it; we expect more from the post-Johannine Church than we did ten or fifteen years ago. Suppression of the work of someone like Fr. Oraison that once would have raised a few scholarly eyebrows now raises a storm. The conservatives are right on this; give us an inch and we do want, if not a mile, at least a foot. And a good thing this is, too, for after all the travail and doubt are over, the end result will be good.

No one should forget the central fact: Pope John came at a providential time in history. It is absolutely necessary to up-date the Church, to make it more relevant to modern times, and what the Vatican Council began was a vitally needed process of reform and renewal. To imagine that this process can proceed without anxiety and worry would be foolish. It is absolutely essential, however, that it be carried out, and I think the "weariness and doubts" the Pope spoke of would be drastically reduced if every diocese, every parish, every Catholic organization—indeed, every Catholic—would work hard now at reform in the light of the Council's teaching, without further delay.

JAMES O'GARA

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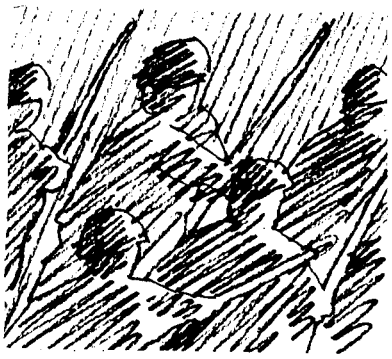

THE DOUBTS OF EUROPE

A mood of skepticism prevails

RONALD STEEL

"What is taking place today in Vietnam is not only the struggle of the Vietnamese people," according to Dean Rusk, "but that of every free nation." What he presumably has in mind is that America's friends—and particularly her European allies—should line up solidly behind U.S. policy. If this was his intention, it has not met with a very happy response. The allies are grumbling, shaking their heads, and washing their hands of the whole affair. All over Europe there are demonstrations and mass meetings protesting the war, editorials suggesting that Washington might find more worthy outlets for its energies, and a succession of newspaper advertisements by intellectuals who urge the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. In this sense what is taking place today in Vietnam has very much become the affair of every free nation. But it can hardly be what the Administration had in mind.

Nothing within recent memory has roused European criticism toward America as the war in Vietnam. Nor has anything so undermined the confidence the allies have felt that the two parts of the Atlantic alliance are united by a common view of the problems they face. Even among those who are basically sympathetic to the American intervention, there is a growing suspicion that the war may be getting out of hand, that the chances of escalation are greater than Washington recognizes or is willing to admit, and that the Administration may be seeking totally unrealistic political aims. Behind the curtain of official support by the allied governments lie doubts, misgivings and even political mutinies. Only the French have come out in blunt opposition, but European politicians everywhere seem to be saying in private what de Gaulle, Mitterand and the others are saying in public.

"What if Mr. Wilson were to tell President Johnson what he really thinks about Vietnam?", the liberal *Guardian* recently asked its British readers—echoing a widely-felt assumption that the Prime Minister is hypocritically pretending to approve U.S. policy in order to stay in Washington's good graces. Labor back-benchers, however, have been less solicitous about President Johnson's feelings, and are now in open revolt against their own government over Vietnam. Nowhere is the split between official policy and unofficial sentiment more dramatic than in Britain. Every week the Laborite *New Statesman* thunders its denunciation of the Labor government for supporting the U.S. in Vietnam, and even the Conservative *Spectator* chides Harold Wilson for his "spinelessness in overselling the American apologia for the Vietnam war."

Support

This is not, however, to imply that condemnation is universal. The traditional Right, as expressed by such papers as the *Daily Telegraph*, see the U.S. holding the hordes of Communist China at bay. They go along with the war in Vietnam so long as it doesn't affect U.S. troop commitments to NATO. Also, such a U.S.-oriented journal as the *Economist*, which takes a rather orthodox, State Department view of the NATO alliance, puts allied solidarity above its misgivings and has declared that the U.S. "is trying to do for non-Communist Asia what it did for non-Communist Europe in 1948 and 1949."

While this is an argument heartily welcomed in Washington, it is not one which seems to have caught on in

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Europe outside the ring of Atlantic theologists for which the *Economist* has become the spokesman. Even the Right-wing, which might normally be expected to line up solidly behind the U.S. where the containment of Communism is concerned, has been split apart over the question of Vietnam. On one side are the traditionalists who tend to assume that the more Western soldiers there are to keep the law in Asia, the better off everyone will be. On the other side, however, is the maverick Right, which is being increasingly attracted to disengagement from the chaos of the underdeveloped world. In the person of people like Enoch Powell, the outspoken Tory shadow defense minister, they declare that the Africans and the Asians will have to set the limits to Communist expansion by themselves. What's more, they say that a Western military presence can only make the task more difficult.

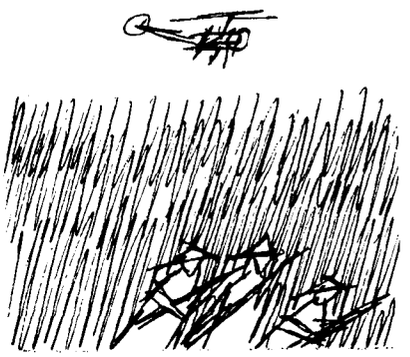
Here the new European Right joins forces with the neutralist European Left in seeking to disengage themselves from U.S. intervention in the Third World. Part of this may come from battle fatigue, but much more is due to the fact that most European intellectuals, whether on the Right or on the Left, do not seem to share Washington's attitude toward Communism in general or China in particular. They tend to look on China with a combination of awe, curiosity and admiration. Few seem convinced that she is an aggressive power, and even fewer seem to care. They do not believe that the war in Vietnam is a case of simple aggression, as Washington insists, and they certainly have no intention of participating in it themselves.

Most of the current furor is, of course, taking place over the heads of the average European. Like most Americans, most Europeans do not want to think about Vietnam, and unlike most Americans, they don't have to. At a time when the cold war in Europe is nearly over and the only serious problem is whether wage increases can keep pace with rising prices, the fact that the United States is fighting a war halfway around the world against teen-age peasants in black pajamas seems improbable and unreal.

Strong feelings about Vietnam are mostly a monopoly of the intellectual Left. These are the people who demonstrate in front of the American embassies, sign petitions, study "fact-books" and manifestos, put ads in newspapers such as *Die Zeit* and the London *Times*, and attend "teach-ins." Almost invariably opposed to U.S. policy, they are a counterpart of similar groups in the U.S. They are also inspired by the same sentiments: distaste at the way the war is being conducted, skepticism of its necessity, and puzzlement over Washington's political aims.

While these protest movements have attracted professional anti-Americans and even Communists, they are by no means confined to the fringe groups. They have included some of the most distinguished European writers, painters, musicians and academicians: most of them people who normally have shown little interest in politics. Like Robert Lowell and Arthur Miller, they have been drawn into the furor over Vietnam almost in spite of themselves.

It could be argued that most European intellectuals were never very pro-U.S. in the first place. But this is neither totally true, nor to the point. During the Kennedy years and the early Johnson Administration—that is, until the intervention at Santo Domingo and the extension of the war in Vietnam to the north—European intellectuals were basically sympathetic to the U.S. In many respects they still are. But the war has drained that sympathy and given rise to a new round of anti-Americanism, and to a fear that U.S. military power is being used to impose a Pax Americana upon the world. Suspicion of American motives has gone so far that British foreign minister Michael Stewart felt obliged to remind his fellow Labor MPs that "the Americans *too* are on the side of freedom."



The effort of U.S. policy-makers to convince the allies that the general interests of the West are at stake in Vietnam has been almost a total failure. They have not been able to elicit any but the most perfunctory response, even among the most traditionally obedient of the NATO allies. Much of this reflects European antipathy to the war. A great deal is also due to resentment by allies who are told to stand up and be counted, but who are not given the slightest voice in deciding the policy they are supposed to endorse—and who are told to keep their advice to themselves. The U.S. can not long expect to have it both ways. "Washington is able to have either freedom of action or European support," Theo Sommer has written in the German liberal weekly *Die Zeit*, "but not both at the same time."

For the moment the allied governments are speaking softly so as not to embarrass the U.S. in public and are hoping that the whole terrible business can somehow be brought to a quiet end. But if the war continues to escalate and if the allies are refused any voice in U.S. policy, it is likely that the appeal of Gaullism, and even neutralism, will spread. "Europeans have no intention of being dragged into the war in Vietnam," a leading British political authority and long-time advocate of NATO declared. "If China or Russia enters the conflict, you can be sure that Europe will want to be counted out."

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Ohne mich is not yet the password in western Europe, but the longer the war drags on, the longer the bombing and the napalming continue, the more one comes across statements such as those by André Philip, who recently wrote in *Le Monde* that U.S. policy in Vietnam is a "violation of the ethical values of civilization that the Atlantic alliance was created to defend." No allied government has gone so far as to say such things publicly. But nearly all of them want to detach themselves from a war whose scope, whose methods and whose assumptions they find increasingly hard to support.

To many troubled Europeans today, it often seems as though Washington is intent on proving de Gaulle's warning that Europe, for its own safety, dare not remain too closely tied to the United States. The alliance, already reeling from profound disagreements over its purpose, may yet turn out to be one of the unexpected casualties of the Vietnam war.

SOME CATHOLIC OPINIONS

AS OTHERS SEE IT

Opinion on the Vietnamese war varies outside the United States as it does inside, but there is no doubt that support for the war drops sharply once one leaves the United States. To get some approximation of the range and intensity of opinion abroad, the editors solicited the views of leading Catholics, lay and clerical, in Europe and elsewhere. Their responses follow.

TISSA BALASURIYA

Ceylon

The present position of the United States in Vietnam seems rather difficult to defend according to any general principles of international relations. The American claim of a right to be there is further weakened by the overthrow of the late President Diem, perhaps not without their connivance, and the present rather precarious position of the military government of Nguyen Cao Ky. The persistent opposition within South Vietnam itself to the Ky Government and the U.S. forces reduces still further any moral claim which the U.S. may have to undertake military operations as measures of "collective self-defense" against aggression by North Vietnam.

This does not mean that some of the peoples of Southeast Asia are not happy that the Americans have decided to "contain" Chinese Communism within its frontiers. This implicit satisfaction may be combined with an outward expression of an apparently liberal suggestion that the United States should quit Vietnam. Such suggestions are sometimes made in the hope that the Americans would not take them too seriously.

However, the lesson of two decades of war seems to be that the Vietnamese people should be left to decide their future for themselves. Such a decision should of course be a free one; and herein lies the snag. The Americans seem to prefer to build up military power in order to ensure free elections and a stronger bargaining position at an eventual conference table. The Americans, it seems to me, should try to hasten the day when free elections could be held under United Nations supervision. The United Nations should really take a much greater interest in Vietnam—if such elections are to become an acceptable reality.

Once an election is held, the worst that could happen would be the formation of a Communist Government in South Vietnam also. Can any outsider claim the right to prevent this by force? It need not be presupposed that a Communist Vietnam would necessarily be an ally of Chinese Communism. Yugoslavia did not prove an ally of Russian Communism. It may, however, happen that the Vietnamese might vote for a non-Communist Government —as all countries have done so far at free elections. In that case the Americans could decide on a line of action in consultation with such a government.

As things are at present one fails to see where all this fighting is going to lead. In this type of war a final victory of one side is unlikely, and hence a solution by negotiation is imperative. Even Americans are not at one.

I do not think that the American policy of encircling China with a ring of military bases from Alaska to Thailand, is one likely to generate peace in Asia. Americans forget that their military bases close to the borders of China do not inspire the Chinese to have confidence in the "free world." The mutual distrust of China and the United States is disastrous for humanity in this decade. Negotiations, even over Vietnam, might be more successful if they were accompanied by an acceptance of China as a member of the United Nations and if China had the opportunity of trading freely with the rest of the world. It is the implicit policy of "containing" and perhaps eventually crushing Communist China that seems to be in need of rethinking—and not merely the problem of Vietnam.

It would seem that the Americans want to convert the Asians to democracy through a show of force rather than through democratic means. If a proportionate effort were made for peaceful development all over Asia as is made for military destruction in Vietnam, there is no doubt that so much good would be generated for the Western powers and their free institutions that Communism would be effectively contained. But the present American and West-

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ern policies of trade, aid and migration, scarcely convince the Afro-Asian peoples of the genuineness of their protestations of good will.

America must first decide how it will win over the Asian countries to its view of life in the long term. This requires a great sense of generosity (not to mention justice) and enormous expenditure and effort. If the war in Vietnam is an impediment to such an effort, then is it not better not to fight militarily in Vietnam but instead to fight the common enemy of hunger, ignorance, disease and poverty in the free countries of Asia?

If, however, the American people are not really prepared to spend as much on peaceful growth of other peoples, as they do on war, then what difference is there between them and the violent Communists? Could they expect the ultimate moral victory of democracy or the genuine gratitude of the world for their sacrifices in war?

CARL AMERY

West Germany

After I had signed a manifesto by several German "left-wing" writers protesting the escalation of the war in Vietnam, I received, for several weeks, free complimentary copies of the Neo-Nazi *Deutsche National und Soldatenzeitung*. Probable reason: that weekly keeps up a running fight against American "atrocities" in Vietnam. (To break down the qualitative difference between "German warfare" 1939/45 and "Allied warfare," and because the DN and SZ has decided to put its chips, for World War III, I suppose, on Peking.)

After a total of six eggs exploded against the wall of the *Amerikahaus* in West Berlin, thrown by a few student demonstrators, the papers of the Springer trust, which completely dominate West Berlin public opinion, called for a "powerful manifestation of confidence in our American friends." The manifestation was powerful, all right: some people were beaten up and forced to take one-way tickets into the Eastern Sector. The Springer press was smugly satisfied about this. I choose these two examples to show how difficult it is to define fronts in German public opinion concerning the Vietnam issue. The Nazis of the DN and SZ and the nationalists of Springer sit on two different sides of the fence. But there is, it seems, one common feature to their contrasting stands: the feature of method, of keeping alive the old and wornout attitudes of the Cold War.

As long as the war in Vietnam goes on, the dinosaurs will not die in my country. They may survive a Vietnam peace, I concede; but I hate to see them fed so well.

FRANCOIS HOUTART

Belgium

Faced with a complicated problem like the Vietnam war, it is of course very difficult to come to a conclusion, particularly when we see so many men we respect for their integrity and their intelligence adopting opposing positions.

I would like to raise two preliminary questions. First, what would be our reaction if the components of the problems were the opposite? Let us suppose that in an African country (Ghana, say) the Russians, wanting to defend a socialist regime against "Western" infiltration, sent troops to fight against the "pro-western" guerrillas and bombed the parts of the country belonging to this group. Let us suppose also that they would deny any right of representation for peace talks to such guerrillas and that they would accept only their complete annihilation. What would be our reactions? A total condemnation of the Communist regime, which would, of course, be considered immoral for not hesitating to use the war as a means of obtaining its goals of domination of the world; an exaltation of the heroism of a small people fighting against a giant (remember what was said about Finland in 1939); a tremendous admiration for the tenacity and the spirit of the guerrillas, etc.

Second, how do we justify morally such an action as the war in Vietnam? The first justification is, naturally, the fact that our opponents are the aggressors and most probably this is true. But with this there is associated an extraordinary manicheistic attitude. Evil is perpetrated only by others; we have such clear consciences that anything is allowed for us; there is no possibility of doubting our intentions, so it follows that our actions must be right. Therefore the only result must be a total victory. If some less-than-moral means must be used, this is only a minor evil before the fundamental good of the aim. The war must be continued.

But it must come to an end. The situation is such that the main problem is no longer who is responsible for the beginning but who is responsible for the end? There are many reasons for this. It is now clear to many people that the evils provoked by the war are much greater than the evils one wants to avoid. If Communism was an "absolute evil," it would be necessary to raise the question of a total victory. And we may wonder if this is not the conviction of too many people, who accept so easily the fact

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of the war. The evidence relating to the Vietnam war is now strong enough to be meaningful. There is the fact that, in many cases, the bombing constitutes "total war" because of the practical impossibility of doing otherwise; the fact of a very high rate of immorality brought about among the Vietnamese and the Americans through the war.

We must add the social aspect of the "civil war": The support of conservative powers by the West; the fight of the Vietnamese people against social injustice, a fight now easily symbolized by the Vietcong; the military occupation of the country by foreign troops and the actual domination of the political life by the outside world. All this is combined with the tremendous suffering brought about by the war and all its atrocities on both sides.

Such evils are not only a fact in Vietnam itself. The war in Vietnam creates a grave situation for the world. Perhaps in the short run the danger of a world war is not so great, because of the weakness of China and of the lack of interest of Russia. But much more grave are the long-term consequences. This is a war of the "developed world" against the "underdeveloped." We must not forget that. It is a war of "white people" against "colored people" and the presence of some South Korean soldiers, under political pressure, will not change the problem. It is also the war of a "Christian world" against a "non-Christian world." Because of present circumstances it is less and less the war of the "free world" against the "Communist-dominated world." Those are facts which have nothing to do with intentions.

What immediate consequences is the war having for the major problems of mankind? According to figures given at the Geneva conference on world trade and development in 1964, the budget of the Vietnam war would almost be sufficient to promote the launching of development in most of the developing areas. At the same time the budgets for developing aid are diminishing.

The time has come for Christians to dissociate themselves from the war in Vietnam. Many hesitations have been possible for some time. Not any more. Not to stop the war in Vietnam is a collective sin. No reason of prestige may play a role in not doing so. The wrongness of the adversary is no excuse. Today we are all responsible for each other. It is impossible to reconcile what is happening in Vietnam with Christian values.

GABRIEL MARCEL

France

You ask me to say in a few lines what my attitude as a Catholic is toward the frightful Vietnam tragedy. But I must first say that the Catholic point of view is in no way different from the simply human point of view.

My very frank opinion is that each additional day of this fearful war succeeds in increasing an ever-more crushing burden of sufferings which not only weigh down upon that unhappy people but also upon Americans who, so often against their will, find themselves forced to risk their lives for a cause which is more and more problematical: prolongation of the war unceasingly intensifies the danger of a world conflict.

What strikes me above all is that the justification which once in a strict sense could be made for the American engagement in Vietnam has practically disappeared. It can no longer seriously be maintained that the Americans are there as the protectors of the Vietnamese people and their liberties. As is so often the case—and this cannot be repeated too often—the means set in motion actually have turned back against the objectives to which they were subordinate.

Moreover, it is probable that each day in the conflict the word "liberty" loses more and more of its meaning. The only hope would be—and I say *would be*, not *is*—that the elections which are contemplated present evidence of what I have just said and that the Americans draw the conclusions the results of the elections impose. Unfortunately there is a danger that the elections will be only a frightful parody. It is hard to imagine how they could take place in a normal fashion in a country which is not only at war but is infiltrated by the enemy.

Because of a recent trip to the American Northwest I am able to state to what extent the war has become unpopular, and I even heard expressed the paradoxical but perfectly tenable opinion that Ho Chi Minh is perhaps the only person capable of establishing order in unhappy Indochina, and that perhaps if he is permitted elbow room he would succeed in disengaging himself from the grip of China. I admit that nothing is less certain. But what is certain, it seems to me, is that prolongation of the war is a disaster of an unpredictable duration.

I apologize for having expressed myself so brutally. But in so grave a situation, which perhaps threatens to govern the course of the world for several years, there is no longer any place for being circumspect.

E. I. WATKIN

England

The criteria of a just war formulated by the Church's theologians are indeed a satisfactory clarification of Christian common-sense. These same theologians, however, have rendered the criteria nugatory by adding that the individual Catholic citizen need not, in fact should not, attempt to apply them to any war waged by his government but on the contrary ought, precisely as a good Catholic, to accept the decision of his national state that its war conforms to these criteria and that he must accordingly regard it as justifiable. Not only is it a patent absurdity to determine the justice of a dispute by the unquestioned plea of the counsel for one of the parties; this pronouncement in

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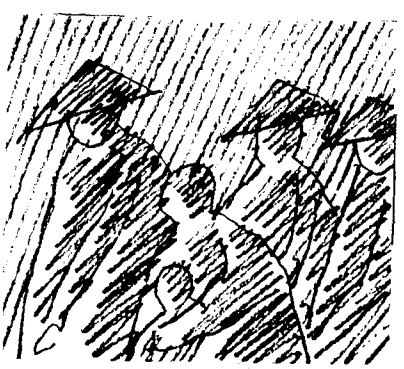
effect declares all wars whatsoever, so far as the private citizen is concerned, justifiable. In fact no Catholic hierarchy has to my knowledge ever condemned a war waged by its state.

On the contrary, however flagrant the aggression, however immoral the methods of warfare, Catholic bishops and the priests following their guidance have consistently thrown the entire weight of their authority as moral teachers into their country's war effort. Even Hitler's flagrant aggressions and his design to subject at least the whole of Europe to his anti-Christian and fiendishly cruel sway were supported by the German and Austrian bishops on the ground that it is a Catholic's duty to fight without question in the services of his national government. In the past no doubt it was often, *though by no means always*, impossible for the private subject to judge for himself whether his ruler's *casus belli* was or was not just.

Today the case is different. For one of the traditional criteria of justifiable war is that on a reasonable estimate the good attainable by the victory of the *ex hypothesi* just cause is not outweighed by the evil the war must produce. In these days of total warfare with the risk of possible escalation to a world war of nuclear dimension this criterion can hardly be fulfilled. For no cause whatsoever, not even to prevent the worldwide supremacy of a tyrannical and irreligious Marxism can justify a nuclear holocaust.



The danger of such an outcome to the Vietnamese campaign is by no means chimerical. This prospect, however, has confronted us with another criterion of justifiable war, whose observance or violation is easy to discover: the methods employed in waging it. A war, even when justifiable in its purpose, becomes unjustifiable if these methods are immoral. For the end does not justify the means. It is impossible however to deny—the evidence is all too convincing—that the American war in Vietnam has been and is being conducted by immoral methods; slaughter of noncombatants, notably by napalm bombing and the torture of captives.

Consequently by accepted Catholic standards the war, even were it otherwise justifiable, has been rendered unjustifiable. No single American Catholic bishop, however, despite sentiments widely expressed at the Council and embodied in its decree has raised a protest. Cardinal Spellman indeed has openly discarded the traditional Catholic teaching. Even, he has told us, if a war should be or become unjustifiable, Catholics should nevertheless rally to their nation's cause. The Cardinal, that is to say, declares by his words, what his episcopal colleagues down the centuries have declared by their behavior, that above God and His law stands the supreme deity of their worship: the national sovereign state, that bloodstained idol to which human holocausts have been offered in sacrifice on a scale which reduces the human sacrifice of pagans to comparative insignificance.

Hiroshima, Dresden and today the Vietnamese villages —no word of episcopal protest.

What however of ourselves in Britain? We too share the guilt of the Vietnamese war as accomplices; reluctant, it is true, but accomplices all the same.

What then, I may be asked, is in your opinion the right policy for the United States to adopt in Vietnam and in which alone would the White House receive British support? Surely to respect the desire of the overwhelming majority of her population, withdraw American troops from the country and leave the Vietnamese free to decide their own government whether or not their decision suits the American or British interest. Such in fact is, short of a world war, the sole possible, as it is certainly the only desirable, issue from the present impasse.

DOUGLAS WOODRUFF

England

I am still hopeful that the course of events in Vietnam will not prove more unsatisfactory than the sequence in Korea and Laos. There the Communist drives were effectively halted, and those who took refuge in the south of their countries, fleeing the Communists in the north, are living in independence. I do not believe that this would have happened if the Communist drives had not been firmly and patiently met. It is not so long since many people who profess to special knowledge were warning us

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that we must expect Communism to spread beyond the frontiers of China. They said that the Asiatics had no tradition of independent government, had always been ruled by force, and would only seek to belong to the side they judged the stronger. These gloomy predictions have been falsified, not only in the former British colonies of Burma, Malaya and Singapore, but in Indonesia, the seat of the original Bandung Conference where the Chinese made their bid for leadership.

The rout of the Communists in Indonesia has been decisive, and demonstrates how peoples who are strongly anti-colonial can also and very logically be anti-Communist, having woken up to the fact that Communism is a very harsh form of colonialism. If I am at all critical of American policy, it is that the Americans seem to me to have consistently underrated the problem of training the Vietnamese for a self-government which is new to them. There seems to have been an attempt to improvise governments from those who came forward offering to govern the country, without having either a broad basis of support, or the exceptional practical capacity required. But a lack of political experience has not prevented most of the Asian ex-colonies from producing reasonably stable governments, to the point where it is quite reasonable to say that it can be done, and that the United States must not grow weary in well-doing because there have been so many disappointments.

It does not seem to me that the United States Government has much option, for if it left Vietnam, the repercussions would be felt all round Asia. The Communists already enjoy the advantage that they control the largest Asian country and there can be no question of their going away. The question for Asians is might not the United States grow weary and if she did what would happen to those who have been in her employ or taken her protection? It seems to me an issue in which the wood is much more important than the trees, in which, that is, the large fact that the anti-Communists are at least as strong and determined as the Communists needs to be demonstrated all the time; but that provided it is demonstrated, the Communist advance can be checked.

A great deal of Europe was lost to Communism through a misreading of Stalin's character and the nature of the system at whose apex he sat. It was unfortunately the line of least resistance, at a moment of war-weariness, to let him settle the fate of the Central Europeans when there is now no doubt that he was surprised to find he could get so much so easily by holding out a promise of friendship. It is always tempting for the Western countries, so ardently wanting peace and a fruitful commerce with all the world, to go to almost any lengths to try to secure it, and to believe that it should not be too difficult to secure. This is a temptation that has to be resisted, because the Communist appetite grows by what it feeds on, and young Communists are taught that they are the agents of an inevitable historical process, which they are inclined to believe when things go their way. They have to be shown that they are living in a world not historically determined, but in a world where free men who reject their creed are strong enough to prevent them from spreading it.

No referendum on the war

VIETNAM AND THE VOTER

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

The Vietnam war has injected more than the usual element of irony into our politics. The first is that Lyndon Johnson won in 1964 largely on the peace issue, but then adopted parts of Goldwater's policy as soon as possible after his inauguration. The second irony which seems to be shaping up is that while Vietnam is clearly the most important issue to confront the American people in many decades, it will probably play a minimal direct role in the outcome of the 1966 elections. It is startling at first glance that this should be so, for the Vietnam conflict is already making it clear that world-wide imperial intervention exacts a crushing toll on constitutionalism and domestic reform at home, not to mention its other costs.

There is little need to develop a detailed catalogue of consequences. The war is at best of very dubious constitutional legitimacy. It will shortly involve as heavy economic and human costs, proportionately, as did the Korean War, but its open-endedness leaves no guarantee that those costs will level off at that point. Unlike the Korean War, the Vietnam conflict is being fought virtually without allies; only our Asian client states and the always-apprehensive white outposts of Australia and New Zealand have troops in the field on the American side. In Vietnam the United States is going it alone, enormously undermining the U.N. as a peace-keeping mechanism and helping greatly to prompt U Thant to retire as Secretary-

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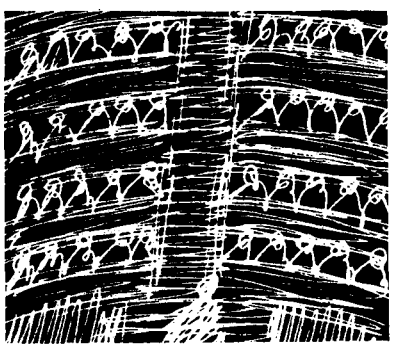
General. It is an extraordinary spectacle: the United States is more internally divided and externally isolated in this venture than in living memory.

Politically, the war has shaken the Democratic coalition to its foundations. Most of the people who perceive that war is the death of domestic reform and that such reform is urgently necessary are, ironically, in the same party as the Commander-in-Chief. Vast disillusionment has been the inevitable consequence—among Negroes, who see that most of the substance of the Great Society's promises will be eaten up by the military; among intellectuals, who see this and a great deal more; and among the workers, who are less likely than President Johnson to think happily that a 17% increase in wages and an 83% increase in profits are equivalent to each other. Like the Irish Home Rule Bill, which was at last signed into law in Britain just as World War I was breaking out, much of the domestic-reform legislation of 1965 will be practically suspended for the duration. In the recent Senate hearings on urban decay, the Senators were for some reason surprised to hear how much it would cost to mount an effective attack on it—more than $200 billion over the next decade. "There isn't that much money around," said one of them. Yet it is estimated that our expensive undertaking in Southeast Asia will cost at least $20 billion per year, not counting any costs of "reconstructing" Vietnamese society by non-military means. Many of those adversely affected by this ordering of priorities—both Negro and white urban-dwellers—already see the connection between Vietnam and the plight of the American metropolis. Many more will come to see it in the years ahead.



Since the Administration refuses to adopt such elementary war measures as price-wage controls, inflation and tight money have become very obvious Vietnam costs. But imposition of such controls and higher taxes will surely not be cause for a boom in the Johnson Administration's popularity, granted the acute division of opinion which exists regarding this war. The debate on the inequities of the draft is also an indication of this division. When the number of men in Vietnam is doubled—as it will be in the next year or so—the burden of disruption in private lives will have to be spread more widely, and complaints about the inequity of the draft will grow more fierce.

There are other, and abundant, evidences of discontent and disenchantment. A recent poll by Congressman Mosher (R., Ohio)—admittedly on a return of less than 4% of the questionnaires—reveals that 54% of the respondents believed that the Administration erred in getting in so deep in Vietnam, while only 32% did not. Fully three-quarters believe that the Vietcong will have to be included in any eventual negotiations. Other polls indicate that Johnson would lose heavily to George Romney in an Iowa county which went two-to-one for him in 1964, and that more Democrats favor Robert Kennedy for President than Lyndon Johnson—an almost unheard-of state of affairs. In the California primaries, peace candidiates won 41%, 45% and 47% of the Democratic vote in three congressional races; not all of this was the student-intellectual vote by any means.

Personality Politics

Yet it seems likely that these are problems for 1968 and after, not for 1966. It will probably be very hard, except in a few contests such as the Oregon Senate race, to make any valid sweeping generalizations that Vietnam had a decisive effect on the outcome of the 1966 elections. The federal system tends to make off-year elections anything but coherent referenda on any national policy. The "popular will" is usually split up among a host of constituencies and local candidatures which have little to do with each other, and the trend toward image and personality politics in recent decades reinforces this splintering.

A second factor which should be mentioned is the nature of off-year elections themselves. Typically the turnout in such elections is one-quarter less than in presidential years, and the abstainers are heavily concentrated among the lower classes, Negroes, women and other semi-political strata. The result of this has usually been the production of a "normal" party vote for the era: nowadays about 53%-47% in favor of the Democrats. Such a balance would mean that the Republicans can expect with some confidence to pick up between 40 and 50 in the House, and several seats in the Senate. This is also indicated by the historical fact that since 1920, the average in-party loss of seats in the House has been 40 (excluding the unusual realignment underway in 1934), and following landslides it has been 46. Thus if the Republicans make gains in that range, they will have won a "statistical victory" only, one which could be explained almost wholly in terms of the mechanics of party competition. Of course, if they win that many seats the old Dixiecrat-GOP blocking coalition will be back in business on Capitol Hill, which is yet another reason for doubting that constructive domestic legislation will soon be possible.

A third complicating factor is the posture of the two parties themselves on the Vietnam issue. Of course the Republicans will capitalize on the bits and pieces of this

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issue which can be brought into the campaign at low political cost. They will denounce high prices, high interest rates and other matters. But the truth is that the large majority of congressional Republicans favor the Administration's line on Vietnam, while the Democrats are close to being split down the middle on this issue. Consequently, the bulk of debate on Vietnam has been between various members of the Democratic coalition, in and out of government. Such debate is necessarily blurred and lacks salience when it reaches the man in the street, in large part precisely because it is not structured in party terms. Party is an absolutely indispensable refractor and condenser of public opinion in conditions of mass democracy, and when it is barred from this role public opinion itself tends to remain vague, uncrystallized and diffuse except under the most extreme crisis conditions.

"Valence Issues"

Survey research has made it pretty clear that the mass public normally responds to broad, unstructured "valence issues"—the personalities of the candidates, the long-term reputation of the parties as "war" and "depression" parties. Johnson's victory in 1964 was a landslide because, in large measure, the Republicans were identified with *both* war and depression for the first time in modern history. It is fair to assume that Vietnam has already ended any chance that the exceptionally large 1964 Democratic coalition could be held together, for once again the Democrats appear to many as the "war party." These voters will probably return to their normal partisan allegiance. What may keep this retreat from becoming a rout is the paradoxical fact that the GOP still remains widely mistrusted on this valence issue, and the absence of any crystallization *in party terms* around the Vietnam issue. To this can be added the likelihood that 1966 is still too soon for the full impact of the Vietnam conflict to be felt. Others factors are certain to play a role in the final outcome.

Beneath the surface the broad trends which are jeopardizing the future of democratic politics in this country continue to emerge. Decisions of the utmost consequence —at home as well as abroad—are taken by a topside, unpartisan administrative elite, without regard to educating or consulting the common people or working through the party organizations which alone can give them some leverage in the political process. Resources are diverted from the most pressing task of our generation—aspects of which include the burning racial question, pollution of our environment, the strangulation of the metropolitan centers—in favor of the most dubious kinds of external ventures. That task, if it were seriously attempted, would come close to requiring a reconstruction of the social order at home in time to prevent internal explosion or collapse of its major segments. Our leadership and our electorate have made a great evasion of this responsibility the real driving force of our domestic politics ever since World War II. Palliatives are offered when internal conflict becomes so acute that something must be done; but the basic problems are not faced because in this kind of political system they cannot be faced.

Moreover the way to peaceful reconstruction of the domestic scene seems to be becoming harder and harder. One of the few hard trends to emerge thus far from the politics of 1966 is that the shift to the right in the Republican Party is continuing as though 1964 had never happened. Such a party, with a Nixon in the hard vacuum which constitutes its center of gravity, seems certain to be more intransigently opposed than ever to any internal reconstruction, and to play for all it is worth on the historic American penchant for total victory abroad. With this kind of opposition, our politics is likely to continue to be a stalemated, irrelevant 19th-century dialogue—until the roof falls in somewhere.

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KARL PATTEN

THE DEAF-MUTE PICNIC

" 'Tis a pity that you are not
a little more tongue-tied."
Mallarmé

The seaside park now summers,
And come to smell the sea
Are hairpinned and gray mummers,
Sprightly ones who finger, eye,
And lip the mind. As gentle
And quick as nest-dropped wrens
In a flat hand, they can't tell
Us—they can't—how with haloes
They ring their golden silence.
Dumber than marsh-riding decoys,
If the open-faced hellos
Were voiced they'd be a raucous
Barnyard. Unerringly knowing
Each other like their palms
And in this light so glowing
As they weave their swift arms,
I slouch in the burbling sound
Of the swinging merry-go-round
And envy their wool world
That softens the stabbing will,
Numbs up the crack, and pads
The libel. No tongues to hurt,
Ears but hanging symmetry,
They play the better part
Of either game or mystery
Against the longer odds,
And surely they have won
Some prize for being stone
Deaf: I think they hear the sun.

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PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS

THE SCREEN

English film-makers producer Michael Relph and director Basil Dearden, who are not adverse to tackling such ticklish problems as miscegenation and homosexuality in their well-made movies, confront us with another baffling question in "Walk in the Shadow." This time they ask if a father's strict religious convictions must be accepted and respected even in a life-or-death situation. Helped by a good cast, some sharp, black-and-white photography of northeast England locales, and a well-written, no-nonsense original screenplay by Janet Green and John McCormick, director Dearden states the proposition in a straightforward manner and without recourse to exaggerated melodrama.

Michael Craig gives a moving, intensely sincere performance as the young father whose eight-year-old daughter is hurt in an accident. When told by the doctor (Patrick McGoohan) that the child will die unless she has a blood transfusion, the father refuses to allow the transfusion: "The giving and taking of blood is against our religion." And when the father quotes the Bible: "Whatsoever man eateth any manner of blood, I will set My face against that soul," the angry, frustrated doctor replies that we're not in the medieval ages now and the Bible is not to be taken as literal law. The child's mother (Janet Munro), realizing she no longer shares the beliefs of her husband's religion (not named), rushes to the hospital to save her daughter but arrives too late. Although the coroner decides the child's death was accidental, the irate doctor insists it was murder and has the father arrested under an old Cruelty to Children Act.

The following scenes and courtroom arguments are fascinating, especially as they include, without bias on the film-makers' part, a cross section of opinions and behavior patterns—from the law, press, religious, and various pro-and-con citizenry. If "Walk in the Shadow" states its questions better and more realistically than the answers, this does not mean that the film is a failure. It is moving without being sentimental; and it is thoughtful entertainment without being preachy; and it is absorbing enough to shake up the complacent.

The problem usually confronting Marlon Brando is choice of vehicles. In the past few years his choices have not been good—although I did like "The Ugly American." Perhaps Brando will never find another "Streetcar," but he is still an interesting actor and a pleasure to watch. My only advice to him is to stay away from arty westerns like his new picture, "The Appaloosa." Its story, set in the 1870s in the American Southwest and Mexico, sends buffalo hunter Brando on a long trek below the border to recover the handsome Appaloosa stallion stolen from him by John Saxon who's portraying a typical, old-fashioned, greasy Mexican villain. In getting his horse back, Brando also takes Saxon's girl (Anjanette Comer).

This story is only mildly interesting, and what's more, it moves too slowly—which is surprising considering it was directed by Sidney J. Furie whose "Ipcress File" was as exciting as anything that's come along in years. But "The Appaloosa" has far too many close-ups which deaden the western rhythm—and also make the pores on the actors' faces look like craters. The picture has an overdose of trick photography and atmosphere shots which slow up the pace. It must be admitted, however, that this color photography by Russell Metty is exceptionally beautiful; one of the shots would have been envied by Georgia O'Keeffe—the arrangement made by Brando on a freshly dug grave with a cross and a sheep's skull.

Now that we've been hearing so little from Ingmar Bergman, interest in Swedish movies has dropped off a bit. It picked up some with the sexy "Dear John" last spring; and it may have a small spurt this fall with the release of "Loving Couples," another Swedish item concerned with sex and the emancipation of women. It was directed by Mai Zetterling, a very fine Swedish actress who I wish had stuck to acting. In telling the story of three young women who are in a Stockholm maternity ward waiting the births of their babies, Miss Zetterling has directed the three actresses expertly, but strangely enough the actors who play the men in their lives are quite ineffectual. Because of this, as well as the story itself, "Loving Couples" isn't so much about couples as about men-chasing, men-ditched women. And it's hard to tell whether the sexual high jinks in the picture is meant to have meaning in this tale of 1915 moral decline or whether it's there just for its shock appeal. In any case, "Loving Couples" is in the Swedish cinema tradition.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

SISTER M. SIMPLICIA, I.H.M.

DANDELIONS

I hear a poet rhapsodize
over this day-time miracle:
green-gold starry skies.

The gardener (April's hard
on rheumatism) spits a curse
upon the 'blasted seeds of Satan'.

Chains or diadem, dandelions
are what we make of them;
Dandelions (like love)
are what we see in them.

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Thoughts on the publication of the Commentary Reader

A GUIDE TO JEWISH JOURNALS

ARTHUR A. COHEN

Magazines are indispensable artifacts of social currency, but they are finally failures as significant media in the creation of ideas. They disseminate at third- and fourth-hand ideas already well-chewed. Even the best magazines are unimportant. Their only enduring value is that they enable the social historian to locate the spectrum of operative opinion and belief, instructing some later-day archivist about the complexities of twentieth-century life. To the extent that a Jewish magazine reflects the identity of Jews, something of the quality and temper of the Jewish community in the twentieth century can be learned from examining, even briefly, the magazines which serve it.

Jewish periodical literature is a post-war phenomenon. The decades before the Second World War were consumed by the Jewish community in activities of both holding-on and holding-out: holding-on to Jews, obstructing the mass efflux from the Jewish fold of professionals and intellectuals who had gone the way of secular messianic movements of the radical left, and holding out against the apostolic American fervor for success. Disillusionment on the one hand and fulfillment (followed by the nausea of satiety and the excesses of the war and the Holocaust) ended that.

In those days Jewish magazines were few, feeble and uninspired, that is if one leaves out of account the extraordinary and the uneven *The Menorah Journal* (*The Menorah Treasury* edited by Leo Schwarz, The Jewish Publication Society, 1964) which was founded in 1915 by Henry Hurwitz, flourished until the depression, and waned until its demise in 1962. *The Menorah Journal* had something. Its identity was its undoing, for it continued to advance an ideology of Jewish existence which had ceased to be relevant. The identification of Judaism with progress and the democratic polity was already compromised by the growing recognition that if Judaism were simply that and no more, it was ineffectual. The reforms of the New Deal made the agonies of the prophetic tradition rather beside-the-point; Franklin Roosevelt consummated Amos and Isaiah. On the other hand, the often sentimental, didactic and moralistic exposition of the virtues and pieties of traditional Judaism proved unavailing, for *The Menorah Journal*, whatever its religious affections, was so anti-theological as to miss most of the emerging trends in Western religious thought. It published non-Jews, but not Christian theologians. Forget ecumenism (there was no such imaginative language in those days), there was no apologetics.

What *The Menorah Journal* conserved of Judaism, it conserved as a contribution to American life and culture, not as a rallying standard for Jewish dissensus. As a contribution to American culture its recovery of the classics, its translations of Hebrew poetry, its introduction of young American-Jewish writers proved nugatory, for the Jews of its heyday time were by and large either neurasthenically hostile to Judaism (Jewish religion is narrow-minded, obscurantist, anti-progressive) or else took it for granted that good Judaism and good Americanism were good for business-as-usual in this best of all possible democratic societies.

The Place of Commentary

The late Elliot E. Cohen, an editor on the staff of *The Menorah Journal*, became the first editor of *Commentary* Magazine when it was established and oversaw its program from its first issue in November 1945 until his death in 1959. Since that time, as is well known, it has been edited by Norman Podhoretz. One of *Commentary*'s hallmarks is the fluid evenness of its style which, like *The New Yorker*, seems to be written throughout by the same lucid, consistent, even-tempered intelligence (the marvelous thing about *The Commentary Reader* [Ed. by Norman Podhoretz, Atheneum, $12.50] is that being a collection of many of the most brilliant essays and stories it has published, the monotone is varied by the fact that so many of the contributors represented were too well-established and independent to have permitted their inflection to be altered by the house style).

The magazine has always been a curiosity, not so much because of its daring and style, as because it is sponsored by an official representative organization of American Jews, indeed, Jews who by now have moved from being Jews of wealth and position into being Jews of the American Establishment. But despite that fact (or perhaps because of it) the American Jewish Committee was too bright to expect, much less insist, that *Commentary* be its official organ.

In those postwar days the Committee was primarily

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concerned with the massive problem of relocating Jewish displaced persons, dealing with the double-loyalty issue then agitating non-Zionist sectors of American Jewish life, coming to terms with some kind of Jewish religion within the American pluralism (and incidentally defining a strong Church-State separation position), but more than anything making certain that in the post-Hitler, post-Holocaust world nothing, nothing would ever again bring the melting pot to a boil. The rank and file of Committee membership—never a mass organization like the American Jewish Congress or the Zionist Organization of America—was dedicated to Judaism within the limits of democracy and economic security. It was a safe organization devoted to safe and sound virtues. What could be better than to publish a magazine, free and untrammelled, which would as its Statement of Aims, written in 1945 and never revised, set forth to "enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Jewish concern, to fight bigotry and protect human rights, and promote Jewish cultural interest and creative achievement in America." Once more, the "best" of Jews could do a good work, fulfill incidentally a Jewish commandment to teach and instruct, and at the same time make a first rate contribution to American life.

No Single Identity

Commentary has. It is a first class magazine; its achievement is considerable and need not be rehearsed (Alfred Kazin's splendid essay of introduction to *The Commentary Reader* sets forth the historical condition of these decades and shows how *Commentary* enlightened and clarified it), but it may be asked what Jewish identity does it reflect? In fact, it reflects no single identity, but many. It reflects so many so excellently that a reader unfamiliar with American Jewry introduced to its pages would be set to wonder, even to marvel: how intense and passionate, how critical and caustic, how stylish and *au courant*, how intellectual and perfervid these Jews are. And how capacious and tolerant—except to right-wing politics and left-wing "dissensus" politics, except to the visual arts (about which its opinions, rarely expressed, are square), except to poor taste in philosophy, theology, or literature. And that's not bad going.

However it would be a mistake to think that *Commentary* can give a clue to what's going on in Jewish heads. It can't, because it's less interested finally in what is Jewish about Jews, than it is about what is "humane" about Jews or Jewish about the "human condition" (a favorite phrase of the Sartre, Simone Weil era of the fifties and now out). I tend rather to sympathize with the *Commentary* attitude. I wouldn't sympathize if there weren't other magazines I could turn to to find out about the Jewish in Jews, but I can. *Commentary* made them possible. It set a standard for vigor and intelligence in periodical publishing which has had as much impact upon general magazines of opinion as upon Jewish. It made so many Jews furious that it wasn't narrow enough that they started to have refurbished already existing magazines to meet the challenge of its excellence.

To take but two for the moment: *Judaism* and *Tradition*. *Judaism* was probably formed in response to the disinterest of *Commentary* in the specific urgencies of conventional tri-partite Judaism. It began publication in January, 1952, and its Editorial Board (it had no professional staff, although its present editor Rabbi Steven Schwarzschild, has successfully disentangled himself from the inevitable infighting of any outside group of consultant rabbis and scholars) covered the Jewish religious scene from Reform to Orthodox, from Martin Buber, Abraham Heschel, to Horace Kallen, Maurice Samuel, and Harry A. Wolfson. What a collection of Jews ran the editorial policies of *Judaism*. It was *echt* Jewish, but the price it paid for its over-generous catholicity was that it was poorly edited, poorly written by and large, insalubrious in typographic atmosphere, and finally without the intellectual and cultural identity it sought to evoke. This is not to say that it did not introduce some important writers and publish some major essays, but it did not meet —if that was its journalistic intention—the challenge of *Commentary*.

Only recently, since Steven Schwarzschild became its editor, has an identity been defined and it is a Schwarzschild identity. If you happen to be engaged by Schwarzschild's theology, *Judaism* is fascinating, for Schwarzschild has attracted to this non-paying quarterly some tasty non-ecumenical apologetic essays, fine sociological studies of, for example, Negro-Jewish marriages, some original translations of unfamiliar Jewish sources (in the image of the "Cedars of Lebanon" feature dropped a number of years ago by *Commentary*); it's better-written, although not yet masterfully edited. It is certainly the best Jewish magazine after *Commentary*, but this is primarily because it has taken over many preoccupations that *Commentary* let lapse, notably the sociology of American Jewry, an interest in Jewish theology and religious literature, and a concern for the history of the Jews.

Tradition, however, is a disappointment, for it is hopelessly boggled by the ambivalent politics of a theological monolith, The Rabbinical Council of America, the professional organization of the Orthodox wing of American Jewry. Because it is orthodox, its tone is defensive (often verging on the shrill and churlish), historical, and unyielding *halakhic* (not a defect in a community that believes in the primacy and absoluteness of the revealed Law) and because it worships sages and scholars, it too often fails to edit them—I think of the magnificent essay of the Talmudic scholar and philosopher, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik, "The Lonely Man of Faith," which would have made the author some friends if it had been well written and hence more intelligible. But *Tradition*'s defect is remediable, one remedy surely being a willingness

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to free its editor from the responsibility of anything but excellence. Jews, like anyone else, love themselves in print, and *Tradition* and *Judaism* often suffer the curse of giving print in place of compensation. It's economical, but bad for journalism.

Besides these three the spectrum thins: *Midstream* published by the Theodor Herzl Foundation is a curious, stunted growth, capable of marvels, but erratic, uncertain of whom or what it fights and where its true love resides—Israel or America; *Conservative Judaism* and the *CCAR Journal*, religious publications of the Conservative movement and the Central Conference of American Reform Rabbis, exceedingly valuable for what they are, amateurish publications which in the case of the former has occasional brilliant essays by younger theologians and writers, while the latter is filled with all of the pathetic maunderings of Reform rabbis trying to improve the liturgy, interpret to their conscience a doctrine they no longer believe, or simple homiletics; and lastly, *Jewish Heritage*, a really first class quarterly (soon to become a monthly) published by the Adult Education Commission of the B'nai B'rith, which really tries and by and large succeeds in bridging the gap between high tradition and concern and the low level of Jewish learning present in the great abyss of American Jewish life.

It's not bad and it's not good. The Jewish organizations finance the scene, enabling good publications to become better and stifling, for want of funds or enthusiasm, the improvement of others. There is no *Commonweal* or *Christianity and Crisis*, although Jews obviously believe in both community and crisis. But everything unexpected that happens in Jewish life happens because some eccentric millionaire with a penchant for the out-of-the-ordinary comes along and drops the right sum of money into an appropriate hand. Maybe it will happen. *Commonweal* and *Christianity and Crisis* are possible in the Jewish community, but they cannot happen simply with a group of Jews deciding to do it (I've been in on three abortive attempts at that). It takes somebody of means. An independent magazine with a neurotic affection for the contemporaneity of an ancient tradition will take a nut. I hope one comes along.

BOOKS

Puzzles of a life of tumult and creation

Prometheus: The Life of Balzac

ANDRÉ MAUROIS

Harper and Row, $10

WALLACE FOWLIE

In French letters, Proust is the only close rival to Balzac in eliciting a vast amount of critical writing and in forming among the investigators a veritable cult. The reason for this is not hard to discover. Balzac (and Proust) represents a world that is visited and explored every year by countless readers. The man who created such a world lived a frenzied harassed life which is narrated in great detail by M. Maurois, who suggests, without ever forcing his opinion on the reader, explanations for the harassment and the frenzy.

There is no facile answer to the persistent problem in Balzac's life: why did he work so hard, with such a killing regimen of fourteen to sixteen hours a day spent in writing, a regimen, in fact, which sometimes reached twenty hours? One of the traditional answers implies that in order to pay his debts, he promised books to his publisher and drew on advance royalties. But Balzac's immediate needs were simple: candle light and innumerable cups of coffee were the only requirements for the long hours of work. Lavishly he spent money on clothes and furniture. He often lost money in disastrous speculations. But there were good years, when his revenues were considerable, and yet during those years also his debts continued to mount. Gradually the pattern emerges from M. Maurois' narration: the debts do not come from the purchases of clothes and furniture and expensive bric-à-brac, but rather the purchases are made so that there will be debts. Many of the business enterprises in which Balzac lost so much money—the Sicilian mines, the book club, the printing press—might be interpreted as means of harnessing him to an implacable lifetime of labor.

Was this forced labor basically masochistic? Was it a means of filling a void in his life, a void created by a negligent mother during Balzac's childhood, and which later in a series of love affairs was only partially counteracted? Maurois substantiates his belief that Balzac suffered from being childless and from not having known maternal love. The troubled paternal form of love which, in *La Comédie Humaine*, the arch-criminal Vautrin feels for the two young heroes, Eugène de Rastignac and Lucien de Rubempré, may be interpreted as a fantasy projection of Balzac. The writing of *La Comédie Humaine* was the releasing of a world. Balzac possessed to an extraordinary degree the gift of creativity, but it would seem that the composing of this work, its proliferation, could come about only when the writer felt hounded and constrained. The horror of such a fate is not in the least minimized by André Maurois, in this biography which he claims will be his last, and which is, beyond any doubt, his greatest.

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During this turbulent life, Balzac did have two important assets, two forms of recompense for his particular fate: an early fame and recognition, and a series of beautiful, gifted women who were strongly attracted to him. But the persistent paradox remained always with this latter-day Prometheus: his enormous appetite for power and money and women chained him to a life that was unnatural, converting hours for sleep into hours of work, and destroying his life with fatigue in order to accomplish the means of enjoying life!

Balzac unquestionably dreamed of changing the world, of instituting reforms in the structure of society. Left-wing thinkers have often drawn upon *La Comédie Humaine*, and Engels once said that he had learned more from Balzac than from all the books of professional historians, economists and statisticians put together. But Balzac's accomplishment was the depiction of the world he saw about him and of the world within him. M. Maurois draws constantly on the novels in order to describe events in the life of Balzac and in order to analyze traits of character and temperament in the writer. And yet he warns his readers that Balzac never completely identifies himself with a character. It is difficult to avoid such a contradiction in discussing both Balzac and Proust. However, the most intelligent critics, among whom André Maurois has his place, know that the novels stand by themselves, that they are ultimately works of art and must be judged as such.

No task in the long career of Maurois (*Prometheus* was published when he reached the age of eighty, in 1965) has demanded more preparation and documentation than this life of Balzac. Whatever admiration he feels for the greatness of Balzac, he subordinates to a remarkable synthesis of the scholarly investigation that has been carried out, and to the published critical estimates that are so abundant. The man Honoré de Balzac, as he lived, becomes astonishingly clear in this book. With every creative genius there are mysteries that can never be fully explored, and these mysteries in the case of Balzac are left as mysteries by this biographer who refrains from elucidating the complexities that perhaps never will be elucidated.

The Secularization of Christianity

E. L. MASCALL

Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $6

ROBERT L. RICHARD

The recent commencement season heard a number of Christian-soldier educators trying to out-shout the magazine vendors with *Death of God*. The educators, of course, were against; the vendors, it would seem, for. But it was all much the same.

In such an atmosphere of impious *vs.* pious bedlam, Mascall's latest study injects a long overdue and most welcome pause. It is more than a little refreshing to sit down with a serious, if also delightfully witty, scholar, and listen to him try to make sense out of all this uproar, or at least show that sense unfortunately is not what is to be had.

In the main, Mascall's critique is an expanded book review of two of the moment's most influential *Death of God* statements: Paul van Buren's *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel*, and John A. T. Robinson's *Honest to God*. But before getting down to the review, the well-known Anglican theologian gives us in an introductory chapter entitled "The Changeless and the Changing" his overall personal judgment on the new radical theology. He does, in fact, and despite the restriction of his review section to van Buren and Robinson, address himself to the whole movement. In a key paragraph, the generalization "all these writers" is Mascall's own.

It is in this introductory essay, that we have Mascall at his best. On the other hand, by the end of the same first chapter the story is pretty much over. At that point, we know where the author stands with regard to the new radical theology: he does not really think it has a future. And we know why: the movement, as he appraises it, is essentially negative, a windy and sophisticated process of tearing down—or as Mascall prefers to say, of *reducing*—the entire content of the Judaeo-Christian revelation.

The review section follows. Here, despite the brilliant humor, alternating between old-fashioned vaudeville and parliamentary sarcasm, the reader's head may begin to nod. The style and tone is rather too much that of late nineteenth-century religious polemic.

A final two chapters come through somewhat as appendices, and handle in a way the author considers both contemporary and adequate the scientific, philosophical and exegetical problems that do not need so drastic a solution as *Death of God*.

Mascall is certainly correct in judging the secularization movement as reductionist; he may not be correct, however, in judging it as only this. Both points call for separate comment.

In Mascall's reckoning, the basic stance of the radical theologian is that of the biblical exegete who wants first, as it were, to purify, and then reinterpret, the Gospel message. For the message itself can no longer be taken "literally." Heaven as the place up above, hell below, angels speaking with human voices, miracles and other interventions from on high, a virgin birth, an incarnation of a divine person—all of this simply has to go. Modern science and modern philosophy make a literal, factual or realist understanding of such religious symbols quite impossible. These symbols, moreover, were nothing but the projections of the human religious imagination to begin with. And this is true no less of "God" Himself. In this sense "God" too must go. From what is left once the process of reduction has been completed, the radical theologian attempts to give shape and substance to the new faith of modern secularized man.

Mascall scores many times in his labored analysis of this reductionist theology, and by and large he is fair. He realizes, for instance, that the attempt here, unlike that of an earlier rationalism, is still Christian. The goal is to restate, not simply to discard, the Judaeo-Christian revelation. He sees, too, that the charge of atheism, certainly in the

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case of John Robinson, cannot be made lightly. In the last inspection, it is a "God" who has been symbolically projected that is now being laid to rest. So for the moment, atheism is rather a question than a point established.

Yet Mascall does not hesitate to label as a gross caricature Robinson's supposed picture of Christianity's traditional triple-decker universe. He is equally severe in judging the ultimate personal inconsistency of van Buren's two selves, the linguistic empiricist and the evangelical Christian.

On the other hand, one may not want, with van Buren, to reduce the whole of the Easter faith to what happened to the apostles, and nevertheless very much want to speak more reservedly than Mascall himself does of 'event' and 'historic factuality' in all this matter. Mascall is first a systematic theologian, and at least in this particular area of biblical criticism he seems himself to be on somewhat uncertain terrain. It might also be asked whether his own concept of Thomist realism (late middle Gilsonian) is truly capable of meeting the radical's challenge that the God who is *really there* is just a more sophisticated version of the God who is *up there* or *out there*.

In any event, if *Death of God* and secularized Christianity is reductionist, it is not merely, perhaps not even primarily, reductionist.

We could wish that Mascall had been able to include in his study Harvey Cox' *Secular City*. But even, although to a much lesser extent, in van Buren and Robinson, there are elements of a moral disappointment and evolutionist optimism that he seems to miss.

A basic conviction of the radical theologians is that if religion is anything, it is creative. And they see in the moral ideal of scientific and secular humanism, the ideal of an utter intellectual honesty and a professional dedication to humanity, something ultimately more creative, in a religious sense moreover, than what they see in the conventional Church. They would have the Church, as it were, leave them alone, in order that they might examine and bring to term what the world itself is steadily creating, as more truly of man—and, paradoxically, of the Gospel. This is the greater challenge in the radical theology that must at least be met and discussed. It may be, for example, that what van Buren makes of Jesus as he sets aside divinity is the only Jesus who could someday be accepted as divine by secularized man.

Hopscotch

JULIO CORTAZAR

Pantheon, $6.95

CHRISTOPHER E. MULVEY

In *Hopscotch* Julio Cortazar, an Argentinian novelist, has written a book which exemplifies Marshall McLuhan's theory that the end of twentieth-century art is no longer to give "a packaged human insight," e.g., *Hamlet* or *Crime and Punishment*, but rather that it proposes to identify environment, e.g., Warhol's soup tin. It looks outer not inner. Modern art is not linear but simultaneous; a result, says MacLuhan, of the environmental changes brought about by the electronic media. *Hopscotch* is a novel which reflects an electronic, simultaneous universe.

The book ingeniously points this up by containing two versions of the novel form. The first fifty-six chapters present a relatively straightforward narrative—"a human insight." The next ninety-nine chapters present the environmental material. It is consequently a very long and difficult book to read. The narrative deals with a group of intellectual émigrés in Paris. In this respect *Hopscotch* is something like Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, and as such is very good. It identifies and describes more types of human squalor, frivolity, and desperation than did ever Miller. Cortazar is able to hold artistic concentration upon the most painful of subjects for excruciating periods without wavering into sentimentality or mordancy. There is a child death matched by few others in literature. The child dies unobserved in a room filled with men and women in earnest debate about the relationship of art form to life. The judgments that Cortazar exacts through his prose are finely made and savagely but not conventionally just.

With the completion of the narrative the whole operation of the novel departs from conventional practice because of the peculiar way in which Cortazar further involves the readers in his characters' lives. We are forced to remake the novel in as active and engaged a way as the hero, Horatio Oliveira, is active and engaged in search for self. The last ninety-nine chapters are described as "expendable." They are in no logical order or discernible pattern. They are to be used by the reader to make the first fifty-six meaningful.

Among the many things included in this book, Cortazar develops very fully and very fascinatingly the concept of the "accomplice reader." His reader must create his book along the author's Of the ninety-nine expendable chapters, some are directly linked with the previous narrative—they will explain events unexplained, continue discontinued conversations, repeat with illuminating variations what has gone before. Other chapters are simply philosophical, aesthetic, or political essays—their subjects varying from the U. N. to the boiling of an egg. Cortazar provides a key of chapter numbers so that the reader is led into rereading the first fifty-six chapters as he sets out to deal with the last ninety-nine. The effect is a novel in which reconsideration, reminiscence, and *deja-vu* take place all the time: at the reader's as much as the author's devising.

Cortazar is an important artist because this maneuvering is more than a laborious gimmick. The expendable chapters are both the raw materials of art and the crude stuff of everyday life. The justification of the form is contained in the meaning of the title. Hopscotch is the child's game played with a stone and squares marked on a sidewalk. The object is to hop, skip, and jump from the first square "earth" to the last square "heaven." It is a game of luck and skill. Cortazar's characters are engaged in the effort to find out what square they have reached in their game where heaven and earth are less

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well defined. The reader is engaged in a parallel pursuit as he hops, skips, and jumps his way through the novel.

The Wine of Absurdity

PAUL WEST

Pennsylvania State U. Press, $6

Alley Jaggers

PAUL WEST

Harper & Row, $4.95

GEORGE GREENE

In spite of recent questionable honors lists, the British have lost neither their empirical bent nor their international range. Paul West is a young Englishman who writes fiction as well as criticism, and who is currently teaching in America. His is the only essay on Albert Camus I know of in which the critic draws a parallel, a useful one, with the life of his own mother. Like many of the rest of us, Mr. West has grown disenchanted with scholarship which suggests "a doctrinal *putsch* with a doctorate at the end of it." As opposed to what he calls the "sacerdotal methodologies" of some New and Myth criticism, he advocates a more eclectic, private response. "Humanism," he frankly acknowledges a debt to Mr. Irving Babbitt, "is not a program or a scheme, but a way of living life deliberately." Countering "the stoniness of the world," we must admit "the incompleteness and unsatisfactoriness of our systems. . . ." The chief weapon with which to escape becoming "an accidental person" is imagination, the wine with which, as Camus said, we may best resist absurdity.

What gives freshness to this quest for secular beatitude is Mr. West's tactic of drawing support from a number of men whose religious commitments (Eliot, Graham Greene), or whose attempt to redefine man (Camus, Sartre), might seem to put them some distance from him. Pragmatic breadth offers large areas for maneuver. Mr. West quotes with approval Camus' judgment that "even the work that negates still affirms something and does homage to the wretched and magnificent life that is ours." What recommends existentialism is its capacity to make what it says sound so *ad hoc*. Yet even Camus goes astray in his desire to pay more attention to philosophy than to narrative. Mr. West misses what he finds in the author who is clearly his favorite, D. H. Lawrence, i.e., "density of irrelevance. . . ."

Although he holds that intuition and institution are mutually inimical, Mr. West does not hedge when recognizing the ubiquity of grace. Surveying the orthodox wing of modern letters, he praises T. S. Eliot's "non-doctrinal rendering of intense epiphany. . . ." He admires Mr. Graham Greene's "welcome ambivalences. . . ." In this case Mr. West tolerates the archaic apparatus lurking in the wings in order to get at the Jacobean melodrama on stage. He even encourages the suspicion there may well be something heretical going on. ". . . what he believes," he pays tribute to Mr. Greene, "is not necessarily the most important thing he says."

What Mr. West seeks is a combination of the cult of intensity with which W. B. Yeats inaugurated the modern tradition, building as he did in turn on those special powers Coleridge conferred on imagination with the term "esemplastic." Yet Mr. West wants to resist the "moist exoticism" of the aesthetically dotty. He knows human beings need some kind of order, even if it is factitious, with which to curb "the discontent of being human." On occasion, though, his urge to avoid categories grows strained. Nor is he always quite consistent. "From him," Mr. West concludes a brilliant chapter on D. H. Lawrence, "we learn that passion and intellect must be generous with each other while fighting their common war against lack of awareness." To be fair, this is not a typical judgment. Elsewhere the duties assigned to imagination seem desperately heavy.

Like all honest fiction, Mr. West's novel sheds light on his own theoretical preoccupations. It exposes, boldly, a human predicament more affecting than even the most far-reaching theorizing. Alley Jaggers, a twenty-five year old Midlands plasterer, fights to preserve his identity in a domestic cold war where his adversaries are his glum mother and an obese wife. What sustains Alley is his Honda, the huge gliders, which he constructs and weekends when he escapes alone from the wallpaper with its six-inch roses on a lemon background. His world is impersonally noisy, confined without the solace of privacy. His wife's voice resembles "the trumpeting of some mastedon. . . ." Her body conveys "the ineradicable taint of hot oilcloth. . . ." People live so close to one another he hears even "the whistle of next door's canary. . . ."

Alley tunes himself out from his surroundings so that he will not go mad. He exaggerates compulsively. Even his burps are "operatic." He reads Tarzan stories, affects an Irish brogue, dreams of glory in some TV-style war, orgiastic yet harmless. " 'It's a proper doddle, anyroad,' " he insists, " 'if you knows how.' " Unconsciously Alley is revolting against the "mutinous resignation" around him. Nor is he without a kind of oafish charm, "awkward as a Frankenstein man and yet in some ways sensitive as nitroglycerine. . . ." He constructs a wildly inventive statue with genital organs of both sexes and names it Ki-ya, a term he borrows from another of his hobbies, karate. He gets beaten by barroom toughs. On one Venusberg expedition he meets a dance hall singer and invites her to watch his glider perform. " 'I'm all right with me hands. It's me brain that's me trouble!' " The glider crashes, and in a quarrel Alley unintentionally breaks the girl's neck. The next day he is arrested at work. A police interrogation provides "the first willing audience he has had in years."

One cannot escape the feeling that Alley's downfall results not from poverty of imagination—his vocabulary is as bawdily original as his sculpture—but from our modern brutalization of that faculty through impossible demands. He is incapable of conceiving of it as anything *except* protest. Granting Alley's special circumstances and limits, Mr. West seems to be verifying in this intermittently hilarious, ultimately frightening book the failure of unsupported imagination, no matter how autonomous, even riotous. There is evidence that Alley at length senses he has been

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cheated. On the morning after the murder he takes his statue to the church where he was married and places it in front of the altar. " '. . . 'Ello, then!' " he shouts at the roof. " 'Are you there? I've come!' " No signal traverses the void. How could it? The bark of motorcycles and rock hymns like the screams of guards in some cannibals' detention camp split his eardrums somehwere between the cradle and the Honda.

Language of Fiction

DAVID LODGE

Columbia University Press, $7.50

DON CRINKLAW

If the commentators who proclaim the death of the novel are right, what we have witnessed is not a sudden demise at all; the novel has nearly always been in peril. Eighteenth-century critics rated it at the very bottom of a hierarchy topped by epic, lyric and dramatic poetry, and the novel was presumed to function only as a popular diversion for the barely literate. In the nineteenth century the novel suffered from the belief—still about, though not so obviously, in our own time—that only writing possessed of the Romantic (and non-novelistic) virtues of verbal complexness and density is worthy of serious consideration.

Today the novel, dead or alive, has risen in the world's esteem, but the old attitudes persist. It is generally believed that the novel is the only form able to survive translation because its words are unimportant, and the only form in which a writer may achieve greatness without knowing how to write. Even Somerset Maugham, who spent dreary years honing his prose until every superfluous word was ground away, claimed that nearly all of the great novelists handled language very badly, and he concluded that if you can create characters and incidents, and have "sincerity and passion," then "it doesn't matter a damn how you write."

The reader needs only a passing familiarity with modern critical writing to understand how pervasive such attitudes have been. The New Criticism, with its premise that the meaning of a literary work can be unearthed by close scrutiny of its verbal organization, inherited the romantic prejudices and confined its interests to poetry, and novel criticism has been concerned with nearly anything—culture, economics, psychiatry, *et al*—except linguistics.

English critic David Lodge points out that inherent in this failure to confront the problem of language in the novel is the view that the novelist's medium is not language but life, his literary activity not arranging "proper words in their proper order" but a convincing organization and evaluation of reality. According to this attitude, the novelist's language is "merely a transparent window through which the reader regards life—the writer's responsibility being merely to keep the glass clean."

What is really at issue here, as Lodge realizes, is the old argument of form-versus-content. It is a commonplace that the writer, unlike the composer or painter, works with arbitrary tools; a writer's "style" is no more than his choice of words, and words cannot be freed of their cargo of meaning as if they were color-combinations or note clusters. In this case, as C. S. Forster observed, "the envelope *is* the message."

Lodge devotes the first quarter of his book to an attempt to correct the impression that the novel is a word-structure in which words do not matter. Inadequately summarized, his resolution

God in an Evolving Universe

In a universe in which the Copernican and Newtonian revolutions have given way before the Einsteinian revolution, in a universe in which man has been dethroned from his comfortable seat in the center of the cosmos—the world-view of medieval christendom has been proved bankrupt. A new worldview is demanded and Teilhard de Chardin is its Christian precursor.

O. A. Rabut, an admirer and critic of the work of Teilhard, formulates and seeks to resolve in his just published volume, *God in an Evolving Universe* ($4.95), some of the key problems of this new on-going cosmic vision for which an evolutionary age cries out. He asks how in an indeterminate universe there can be immutable values, how in a universe of chance there can be order, how in a universe of multiplicity there can be unity; and finally, how in a universe known mainly by empiric science, the existence of God can be accounted for. The quest, then, is ultimately for the source of *meaning*, a source which expresses itself in the coordination of the world and which is capable of orienting evolution up to its end.

God in an Evolving Universe offers no "proofs." It is a tentative probe rather than a definitive proclamation, and because of this it will speak the more strongly to those who are gripped by religious uncertainty.

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of the form-content problem is achieved through a demonstration of the non-paraphraseability of *all* imaginative writing, and through a refinement of principles laid down by I. A. Richards, who proposed a division of language into *scientific* (used for pure explication) and *emotive* (used for eliciting emotional reactions) and thus, by implying that the novel illustrates the first and poetry the second, did his bit to muddy the waters. Lodge reasonably argues that these are not two *types* but rather two overlapping *functions* of language, and proposes to view language as a continuum moving constantly between the two extremes, assimilating both the end and the means, the envelope and the message. And he asks that we realize that a bad great writer has been forgiven, after all, only so much bad writing, and a novel, because it depends upon "these words in this order" also, survives translation no more comfortably than a poem.

Lodge can write clearly and well when he wishes, but for too much of this section he chooses to write in a rather murky style, and he has brought such a ponderous load of academic artillery into his argument that this section will be of interest only to specialists. The more casual reader may wish to scan it only as preparation for the more intriguing parts to follow, in which Lodge formulates a technique whereby a novel may be persuaded to yield up its secrets by an examination of its linguistics, and proceeds to apply his technique to seven novels, ranging from *Mansfield Park* to *Lucky Jim*.

Lodge begins this section of the book by reminding those critics who judge a novel according to its moral (or cultural, or psychological, etc.) truth, that their "judgment of such truth must be controlled and modified by aesthetic experience," since "critics can claim special authority not as witnesses to the moral value of works of literature, but as explicators and judges of effective communication, of 'realization.'"

But author Lodge is not, as that statement might suggest, about to burn with a "hard, gemlike flame," for his technique is inoperable without active engagement with the "moral dimension" of the novel. What he proposes is a variation on the "structural" approach to criticism, whereby "a cluster of images, or value words, or grammatical constructions" is traced throughout a novel. It is not a word-count or an image-catalogue Lodge suggests—in that case a computer could criticize quite well—but rather an understanding of the novel's vision of life brought about by an examination of the words that evoke it.

The seven essays that conclude the book are genuinely remarkable: closely reasoned, lucid and rich with new and, it seems to me, valid, insights. For example, Lodge gives new perspective to Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* by pointing up the author's subtle manipulation of the social and spiritual uses of the vocabulary of "manners," and Thomas Hardy is revealed as an author who owes the ambiguity of his reputation to an inability to reconcile his "natural" vocabulary with his acquired "literary" one.

The temptation to quote each of these essays at length has to be held in check by space limitations. Suffice it to say that the charm of Lodge's technique lies partly in its built-in avoidance of Procrustean retailoring—it is forced to view each novel as particular and unique—and partly in the change of air it affords one who is surfeited with such "cultural historians" as Aldridge and Fiedler. "For ultimately," Lodge writes, "language is the only tangible evidence we have for those vast, vague, unreliable qualities which we bandy about in literary criticism: 'truth to life,' 'moral seriousness,' 'psychological insight,' 'social awareness.'"

E.S.P.: A Scientific Evaluation

C. E. M. HANSEL

Scribner, $6.95

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

"Never trust a fact which is not verified by a theory," wrote the British scientist and philosopher Arthur S. Eddington. The difficulty is that there are so many apparent facts (phlogiston, geocentrism) which turn out not to be really facts, that one ought to have a proper skepticism about any claim which does not fit into our present theoretical categories. Contrary as this attitude may seem to the stereotype of the scientific method which was popularized by a now defunct positivism, it is not only perfectly common among scientists but desirable and indeed indispensable in practice.

Of course it does have its limitations. Occasionally "misguided" investigators turn out to be (or to have been) geniuses in disguise—or more modestly, to have been right after all. The history of science is as replete with persecuted martyrs as the history of religion or anything else. Cantor and infinite numbers, Elliotson and hypnotism, Freud and the unconscious are three nice examples within the last hundred years. The problem is how to distinguish crackpots and geniuses, and it remains a problem because genuinely new discoveries are seldom correctly or precisely formulated at

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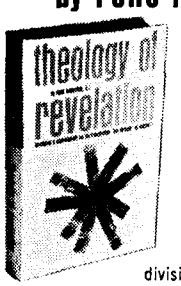
by rené latourelle


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their first appearance, and because they frequently involve an extension of our interpretive categories and standards of evidence.

Parapsychology seems to be neatly fixed on the horns of this dilemma. It has, first of all, ancestral and recent relations with phenomena like seances, spiritualism and the like which are so extra-ordinary as to be *prima facie* implausible. Moreover, even its attempt to move into the laboratory and meet experimental conditions is hampered by the fact that the alleged exercise of extra-sensory perception is not subject to easy repeatability: the subjects have good days and bad days and generally lose their capacity for clairvoyance or telepathy as time goes on (Hansel claims "as experimental conditions are made more rigorous"). Worst of all is the absence of any acceptable explanation of how ESP could work, which reinforces the suspicion that there really isn't anything there to begin with, that the psi-phenomena are only apparent facts.

This is Hansel's position. He concedes that in a few striking instances, a percipient has named a better than average number of ESP cards correctly during a series of "runs" through the cards. The odds against doing so are extremely improbable (even though on an average it comes down to naming about 7 out of 25 instead of 5 out of 25). He concedes that some other factor than chance was present in such cases. But he argues that that factor could have been fraud, either on the part of the subjects or the observers or the investigators, or a combination of these. His book is a detailed description of the experimental set-up for some half-dozen of the best ESP cases and an attempt to show that in every case fraud was possible. The logic of his argument is basically that employed against mediums: if we can reproduce by natural means the phenomena manifested in seances, then we can legitimately reject those phenomena as proof of preternatural realities. His conclusion is not a falsification of the claims of parapsychologists, but rather a rejection of their claims of verification.

The whole argument is perhaps most interesting as an example of how methodology is involved in scientific controversy. Hansel suggests how ESP experiments might be structured to be made convincing even to a skeptic, but far from being immune to objection, his suggested experimental designs would not even meet some of his own criticisms. The lesson to be drawn here is that there is no such thing as a crucial, watertight experiment for either verification or falsification. More implicit and more important is Hansel's admitted presumption in favor of skepticism about ESP. It is best, he says, to adopt initially the assumption that the phenomenon under investigation is impossible if it does not fit in with our other knowledge. One might well respond, with Michael Polanyi, that only faith in the possibility of the hypothesis will make the evidence accessible to us.

But perhaps the basic aversion to ESP on the part of many critics, includ-

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ing Hansel, comes out indirectly in two words by E. G. Boring in his preface to this book. The question, he says, is whether paranormal phenomena are "genuine"—and he adds parenthetically, "(inexplicable)."

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(Continued from page 625)

becomes a word denoting not a person but simply a symbol of the ideals, and one has a purely humanistic and natural religion.

JOHN LANGAN

Dimensions

Montreal, P.Q.

To the Editors: There are several dimensions to the alienation among the evidently growing, yet still small, number of radical Catholic theologians, some of which are as mentioned by Daniel Callahan in his article "Religious Slum-Dwellers" (August 19). They do not share the numinous experience that theologians working within the traditional framework of theology feel is the *sine qua non* of authentic theology.

Also, the traditional or transcendence theologians suppose, usually without thought of criticizing such a supposition, that theology is a more or less complete body of knowledge, capable of being refined both in terms of greater precisioning of old doctrines, and of interpretation of newly developing dimensions of life and their incorporation into the traditional body of theology. E.g., they suppose that Trinitarian or Christological dogma and its traditional theological interpretation, as far as it goes, is beyond a radical criticism that might lead to its rejection. The radicals see theology and all disciplines as revolutionary, a search for new and unique answers to new and unique possibilities, an application of mind in wholehearted commitment to the present, learning from past history and future prospects, but not responsible to or for the past or future.

A third dimension is the liberalism—toleration, distrust of all forms of dogmatism and exclusiveness that go beyond tactical self-justification, love of variety in thought and action—that is characteristic of the theologians who start from social or empirical, rather than transcendental insights. This is characteristic of the modern temperament, and it is still growing and infecting ever broader segments of humanity. To the extent that it influences theologizing it inevitably raises the hackles of biblical or traditionalist fundamentalists. Naturally, the radical Catholic theologians tend to be suspicious of, and may repudiate the exclusivist claims of the Catholic Church.

However, alienation is the painful but necessary source of intellectual and moral advance. Those who continually stress respect for tradition and fear innovations in thought and practice which might not be reconcilable with that tradition—i.e., those who see truth preserved as a simple continuum—are the opponents of truth, truth for us the living, truth for this passing fancy which is one man's or one generation's life. We must think and act for the present and let past and future fend for themselves. This is the essence of rootlessness, alienation, that spiritual disintegration which alone lets present reality reveal itself. Moral and mental realism needs the courage to embrace spiritual loneliness and to ferret out all traces of that escapism which relaxes in the "higher truths" of some religious or cultural tradition.

Conservatism and reaction cannot be clearly distinguished, one is just the comparative of the other, and they represent greater or less fear and rejection of the present as alienation. Liberal or radical theology, which today takes the form of theologies emphasizing the arts, sciences, or social sciences as sources of divine knowledge, is in itself an acceptance of the present with all its rootlessness. Not that the radical theologian cannot be an escapist; e.g., he can find in his radicalness a new key to popularity, social acceptance, professional advancement, escape from the radical alienation of real life.

Radical theology is radical because it is way out, refusing prudential compromises (though not on the tactical level) with traditionalism, seeing traditionalism as an intellectualized mystique to cover the still strong and vicious passions of our slowly atrophying tribal instincts. Paradoxically, radical theology is radical (*radix*) also because it *is* rooted, but not in some unchanging truth as it has grown and diversified over the ages, for there is no such organic truth transcending men;

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rather, it is rooted in the present self-revelation of the always existing (not necessarily unchanging) God of Jesus. This is the authentic Jesus-theology of rejection and of the cross for our time.

ARTHUR C. DECHENE, JR.

"The Gulf"

Bay Head, N.J.

To the Editors: Mr. Callahan's article, "Religious Slum-Dwellers" (August 19), points to the gulf between social and mystical man, between religious selves founded on the possibilities of human community, and those founded on the lived experience of "being" and the infinite. I am not questioning that reality and the self are in part socially structured, or that Christian spirituality has often been nothing more than an exercise in narcissism masking as individual self-perfecting. But I do think Mr. Callahan is asserting more than he wishes to about the infinite and his experience of "being," and, also, that he has unduly focused our attention on the infinite as talked of by theologians, forgetting that it is the same infinite, the same inner-directed self, that has been the bed-rock of much of literature, philosophy and, today, psychotherapy.

By referring to human community in terms of the "possibility" of extending and enriching human contacts, Mr. Callahan is on the verge of a vocabulary and a problem of the self and of value that a number of contemporary philosophers have confronted in ontological, but non-mystical and non-subjective terms. Whitehead and Ricoeur, for example, have elaborated an ontological metaphysics from an analysis of the juxtaposition of the limited and the "always more" in human experience. Mr. Callahan shies away from the term, but it is really the "infinite," the "always greater" (Ricoeur), that underlies a persisting expectation for increasing the possibilities of human communication and communion. However curtailed in subjective emotions, however reluctant the metaphysical analysis, this hope draws a line between "being-for-death" and "being" as an analogue, or doorway, of Absolute Being. There is, finally, no middle-ground between expecting it all and expecting nothing, between looking ahead to total isolation or total communion. Mr. Callahan's optimism implies an experience of—and thirst for—"being in itself."

Yet at the same time, Mr. Callahan narrows down the infinity-experience to theologians when, perhaps, they have been the least successful of its expounders. The experience of the infinite is really built upon a self-scrutinizing that has been first and foremost, the preserve of the poet and writer. It is as much contemporary *drama* as certain contemporary theologians that Mr. Callahan admits not to understand. "Being-for-death" is merely the obverse side of "being-for-Being." The radical self-contingency expressed, for example, by Beckett, or by G. M. Hopkins in his "taste of self as sharp as alum," is an *ontological experience*, and one built-up outwardly and inwardly, but ultimately apart from social interaction and the social communicating self (e.g. Beckett's progress from "End game" to "Eh, Joe"). Man relates *directly* to values, some of which are promissory, unrealized, felt only by their absence; this is an interior world. The answering-infinite is often, but not always encountered in social reality. Indeed, the greater part of the contemporary problem of self-alienation is one of coming to terms, not with others, but with self, with propensities and potencies felt prior to, or apart from, all social encounter. Social self-realization is frequently a flight from authentic self-realization.

I am not saying that Mr. Callahan is lacking in daring, that he fears the anxiety built upon sheer introspection, but only that he has, as he himself implies, bothered to express only a part of the problem of contemporary man's communication. Like the political and economic revolutions, the communication revolution must be built ultimately on an interior plane, on self-communication, on moral revolution. The problem as seen by Mr. Callahan is peculiarly American in its social emphasis; it implies, if not to Mr. Callahan, at least to Koestler and others, a communication that is merely adaptation, a finitude of being that finally makes communication irrelevant because it denies the end, union.

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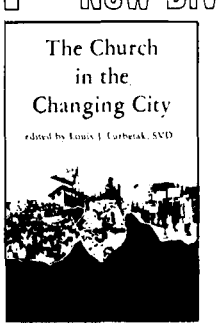

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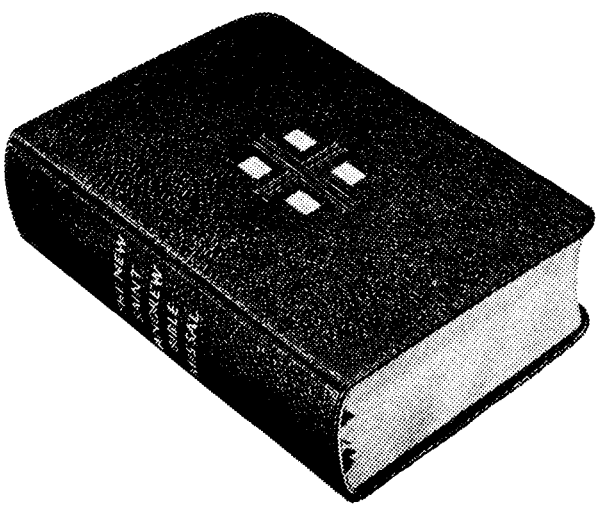


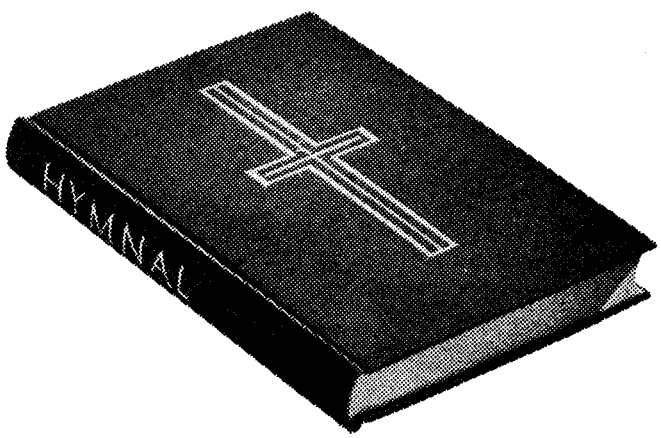
The New Saint Andrew Bible Missal

In keeping with the reforms inspired by Vatican II the New Saint Andrew Bible Missal stresses the intimate relationship between Bible and Liturgy. It is much more comprehensive, much more contemporary than others available; it is the Missal for *today!*

The importance of the Temporal Cycle is emphasized –that is, the reliving of Christ's life throughout the year, rather than the feasts of the Saints and Votive Masses. The Sundays of the year, the feasts of our Lord and our Lady, and other major feasts are fully explained in their biblical background and are printed in their entirety. Consequently, the Bible Missal goes beyond the limited scope of the traditional Missals for the laity which do not take into account the new Liturgical orientation.

The New Saint Andrew Bible Missal is not a daily Missal. It is the only book designed to prepare the Catholic layman for Mass and thus his encounter with Christ in His Mystery.

2. For Participation...



The Catholic Hymnal and Service Book

Today, congregations can no longer be silent witnesses to the mysteries of Christ as unfolded in the Liturgy. The people must pray to God and praise him together as one, in song and in the spoken word. The Catholic Hymnal and Service Book is a response to this need.

This new kind of hymnal contains 180 hymns, four English Mass Ordinaries, one complete Mass for the Departed, one Latin Mass, and several Latin hymns. It also includes the Propers of the Season and the Saints for every day; the commonly used Votive Masses; the complete Psalter and the Canticles; the Order of Divine Celebration; the Forty Hours Devotion; Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and the Rite of Confirmation. An outstanding feature is the guide to congregational participation in the special liturgies for Palm Sunday through Holy Week and a similar guide for the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Truly, the new Catholic Hymnal and Service Book is indispensable for inspiring an educated, naturally responsive, hymn-singing Catholic community.

See these two essential books for Mass preparation and participation at your local religious book store

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